

THE CHURCH OF THE PANAGIA AMASGOU, MONAGRI, CYPRUS, AND ITS WALLPAINTINGS

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with ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS by

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INTRODUCTION

THE village of Monagri is situated in the southern foothills of the Troodos mountains, in the valley of the Kouris River, about one mile west of the main road running between Limassol and Platres. The small church of the Panagia Amasgou (figs. 1, 2) stands on a hillside which rises steeply from the western bank of the river, about a mile southwest of the village. Surrounded by the ruins of its abandoned monastery buildings, the church is now used only on special occasions, such as baptisms and feasts of the Virgin. It comes under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Kition, and lies within the boundaries of the administrative district of Limassol.

Nothing is known of the origin of the church and its history, too, is obscure. The few extant documents pertaining to the monastery are discussed by Antiphon Sykoutris in his study of the monasteries of Cyprus, in which he also briefly describes the building and some of the frescoes (both of which he dates to the sixteenth century).¹

¹ Μοναστήρια ἐν Κύπρῳ, Κυπριακά Χρονικά, 2 (1924), 115–20. According to the documents quoted by Sykoutris (116–19), the earliest of which dates sometime before 1630, the monastery belonged at this time to the bishopric of Limassol. It records that the monastery was given as a gift by Leontios, bishop of Nemessos (Limassol) to the patriarch of Alexandria, Gerasimos, who, according to a second document, returned it within only a few years (in 1632) to the control of Leontios. A number of years later, another patriarch of Alexandria, also named Gerasimos, laid claim to the monastery, citing the original gift, a claim

These documents, however, date only from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, while of some interest with regard to the events of this period, give us no information about the earlier history of the church. N. Kyriazis' more recent account of the monasteries in Cyprus² adds little to that given by Sykoutris. The fortunes of the monastery apparently declined during the eighteenth century, until it was reduced to a dependency of the more prosperous monastery of the Archangel at the north end of the village.³ At what date it was abandoned is not known.

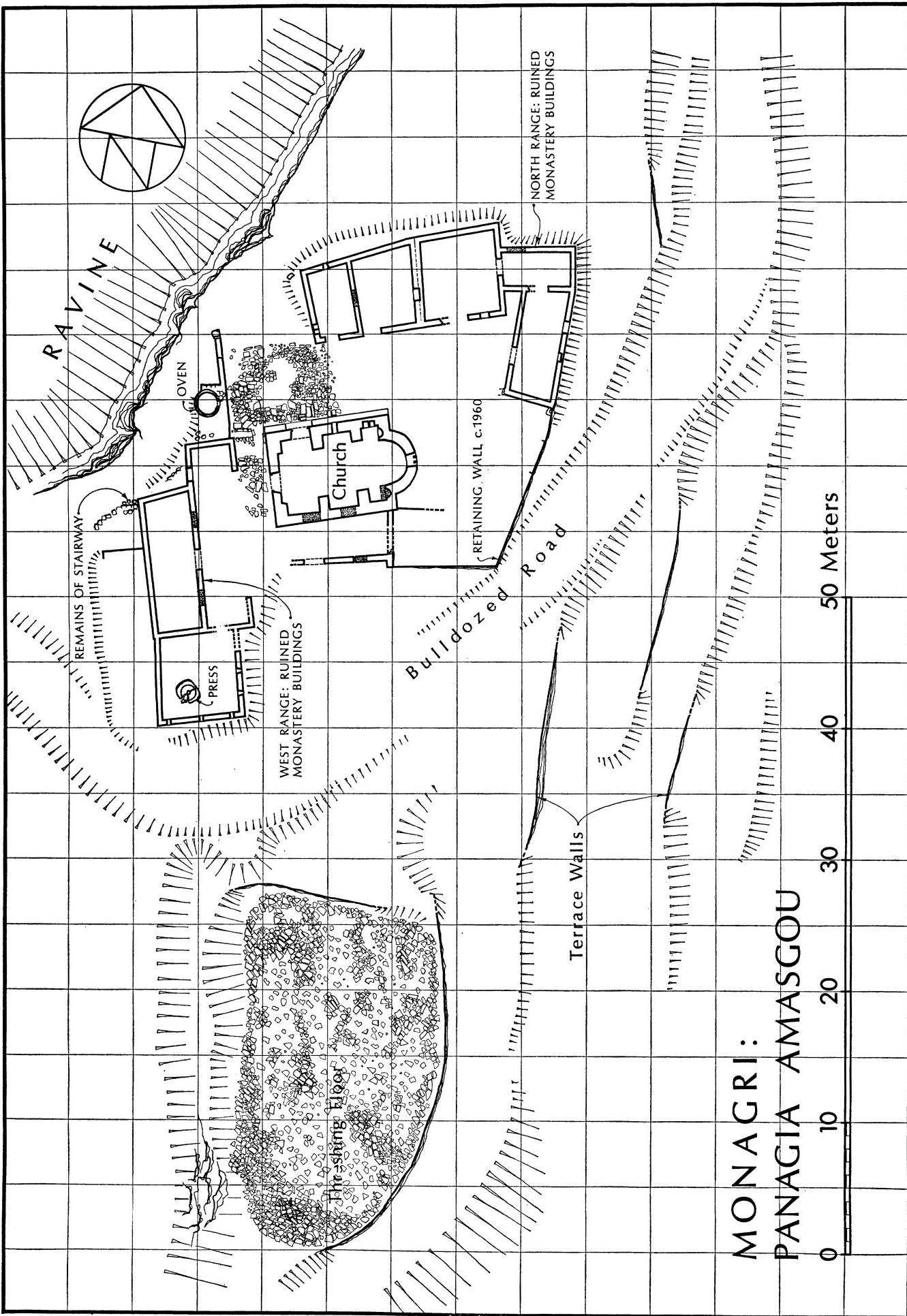
The church has received scant attention in archaeological literature. In his account of the monuments of Cyprus, George Jeffery briefly mentions both the village of Monagri, which he believes to be an ancient site, and the monastery, which he describes as the Panagia "Mayasyou."⁴ Rupert Gunnis, like Sykoutris, assumes that the church dates

which was refuted by Ioannikos I, bishop of Kition, who then had jurisdiction of the monastery. The dispute was not completely resolved until the year 1700, when, following an appeal to the ecumenical patriarch on the part of Ioannikos, a synodal decision declared the original gift illegal and the monastery permanently under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Kition.

² Τὰ Μοναστήρια ἐν Κύπρῳ (Larnaca, 1950), 100–4.

³ Sykoutris, Μοναστήρια, 120. For the monastery of the Archangel, see p. 278 and note 11 *infra*.

⁴ *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918), 361.



MONAGRI:
PANAGIA AMASGOU

to the sixteenth century, and he limits his description to the three sixteenth-century icons then on the iconostasis.⁵ The only other mention of the church is by David Talbot Rice, who also confines himself to a description of two of the icons.⁶

The origin of the epithet Ἀμασγοῦ for the Panagia is not known for certain, but it occurs at least as early as the seventeenth century.⁷ The consensus of opinion is that it is a corruption of the Greek word for Damascus, Δαμασκοῦ.⁸ While the name is included in a number of short studies devoted to the subject of the epithets of the Virgin in Cyprus, no alternative suggestion has been made as to what its source might be.⁹

There are two other churches located in Monagri. The village church, used for daily services, is Hagios Georgios,¹⁰ a modest, single-nave structure of uncertain date, covered by a barrel vault on which are some poorly preserved sixteenth-century paintings of a style similar to those in the Panagia Amasgou. The second is part of the monastery of the Archangel, mentioned above, which lies at the northern edge of the village, among the ruins of its abandoned

⁵ *Historic Cyprus* (London, 1936), 346–47.

⁶ *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937), No. 34, p. 215 and pl. xx; No. 119, pp. 257–58 and pl. XLII; No. 93, p. 245 and pl. XXXV.

⁷ Sykourtis, *Μοναστήρια*, 118.

⁸ Gunnis was the first to suggest this derivation (*Historic Cyprus*, 346); Talbot Rice (*Icons*, 215 and 245) follows him, referring to the church alternatively as the Panagia Damaskinou and Damaskou. A third variation is given by M. Christofides (Τὰ ἐπόνυμα τῆς Παναγίας ἐν Κύπρῳ, in *Κυπριακά Γράμματα*, 14 [1949], 92), where the church is listed as Δαμασκιότισσα as well as Δαμασγοῦ.

⁹ Timotheos P. Themelis, *Αἱ ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς Παναγίας ἐν Κύπρῳ* (Jerusalem, 1926), 13; N. Kyriazis, ‘Η Μεγαλοχάρη στὴν Κύπρον: Ναοὶ καὶ παρακλητῖαι καὶ ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς Παναγίας ἐν Κύπρῳ, in *Πάφος*, 10 (1945), 136; *idem*, ‘Ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς Παναγίας’ (*Larnaca*, 1950), 8, no. 18. I am grateful to A. H. S. Megaw for these references.

¹⁰ The church is mentioned in the following works: Jeffery, *Monuments*, 361; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 346. The icon of the Hodegetria is described in Talbot Rice, *Icons*, No. 36, p. 215 and pl. XXI; a few of the wall paintings have been reproduced in G. A. Soteriou, *Τὸ βυζαντινὸ μνημεῖο τῆς Κύπρου* (Athens, 1935) (hereafter cited as *Μνημεῖα*), pl. 109a, and D. Win-

monastic buildings.¹¹ The present structure is dated by an inscription painted on the marble lintel over the west door, stating that it was rebuilt by Archbishop Makarios in 1740 following the destruction by fire of the earlier church. The wallpaintings in the church, which date from several periods of the eighteenth century, merit attention less for their meager artistic value than for the historical interest of their dedicatory inscriptions, which, in their use of archaic styles and language, reflect a conscious revival of Byzantine practices.¹² Of greater interest are the two marble columns and Corinthian capitals supporting the porch over the western entrance and the marble lintel over the doorway, all of which probably came from the ruins of an Early Christian church somewhere in the vicinity.¹³

The conservation and cleaning of the wallpaintings at the Panagia Amasgou were undertaken by Dumbarton Oaks with the kind permission of His Grace, the Bishop of Kition, and the cooperation of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, which had restored and consolidated the fabric of the building in 1960.¹⁴ The conservation work on the wallpaintings was ably carried out by Mr. Yiannis Makrides of the Dumbarton Oaks field staff, under the direction and supervision of Mr. David Winfield, Director of Field Work in Cyprus for Dumbarton

field, “Reports on Work at Monagri, Lagoudera, and Hagios Neophytos, Cyprus, 1969/1970,” *DOP*, 25 (1971) (hereafter cited as “Reports on Monagri”), 259 and figs. 1–3.

¹¹ The church of the Archangel and its painted inscriptions have recently been published by A. and J. Stylianou, “Two Donor-Portraits and Two Dedicatory Inscriptions Concerning Bishop Macarios of Kition (1737–1776) in the Chapel of the Archangel, Monagri,” *Κυπρ.Σπουδ.*, 31 (1967), 65–74 and pls. xv–xxx; see also Sykourtis, *Μοναστήρια*, 108–15; Jeffery, *Monuments*, 361; Gunnis, *ibid.*, 347.

¹² Stylianou, *op. cit.*, 66–70 and esp. 74.

¹³ The capitals have been reproduced in *ibid.*, pls. xvii–xviii, and Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, pl. 134b; Soteriou (note to the plate) dates them to the fifth century.

¹⁴ For a summary account of the work, see Republic of Cyprus, *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1960* (1961), 11, No. 11 and figs. 7, 8, 12–14; V. Karageorghis, “Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1960,” *BCH*, 85 (1961), 272.

Oaks, and was completed in the summer of 1972.¹⁵ We should like to extend our warmest thanks to the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, and to the Curator of Monuments, Mr. Athanasios Papageorghiou, for their very kind cooperation in the project. The plans and elevations of the church, as well as the black and white and color photographs published here, are the work of Mr. Richard Anderson of our field staff, and the architectural section, prepared at Dumbarton Oaks, is a cooperative effort based on the data supplied by him.

The purpose of this paper is to present a record of the church and its earlier wall-paintings. The description of the individual frescoes includes a brief examination of their iconographic peculiarities, and the frescoes are discussed mainly within the context of Cypriot wallpainting. For the present, I have refrained from stylistic comparisons with monuments outside of Cyprus. Nevertheless, even within these limitations, my conclusions must remain tentative until the decorative programs of more painted Cypriot churches are properly studied and published.¹⁶

Appendix I is the report on the technical analysis of a number of paint samples selected from the three periods of painting discussed here. I am most grateful to Mr. Lawrence Majewski, Chairman of the Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, for his generous cooperation in accepting this as a research project, and to Miss Victoria Jenssen, who was the principal investigator. Appendix II is a brief description of the Lusignan coin hoard which was found immured in the apse window. This report has been prepared by Arthur J. Seltman, a specialist in the field of Lusignan numismatics, who studied the hoard shortly after its discovery in 1960.

¹⁵ For the preliminary reports, see D. Winfield, "Dumbarton Oaks" (Harvard University) Work at Lagoudera and Monagri, 1970," *Report of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities* (1971), 149 and pl. xxxv, 1-2; *idem*, "Reports on Monagri," 259-62, figs. 4-7.

¹⁶ We look forward to the appearance of the studies currently in progress: the monastery of St. Chrysostomos which is being prepared by Cyril A. Mango; the churches of Asinou and Lagoudera by David Winfield; and the church of the Panagia, Trikomo by Athanasios Papageorghiou.

THE ARCHITECTURE

The monastery of the Panagia Amasgou, situated on a terraced hillside which slopes eastward to the Kouris river, consists of a small church, still in use, and monastic rooms, now in ruins (fig. 1). The small complex of monastery buildings survives in two ranges around the church, two rooms to the west and five to the north and east (text fig. I). Built of rubble masonry from local limestone, these one-story buildings appear to date later than the church, for their ruined walls, 50 cm. thick, still contain timber lintels and joists of not very great age. South of the church stands the ruined wall of what must have been an aisle or porch, roofed by the extension of the timber, tiled roof of the church. A small excavation at the southeast corner of the church in 1972 showed that the east wall of this aisle was not bonded into the wall of the church, but rather overlaid and abutted it.

Constructed also of rubble masonry, the church itself is a single barrel-vaulted nave with projecting semicircular apse. The extreme external dimensions are 11.42 m. long by 7.25 m. wide (fig. 2).¹⁷ The gabled timber roof with flat rectangular tiles is identical to roofs of many other mountain churches in Cyprus. Extraneous notches and weathering on the timbers indicate at least one reconstruction. Absence of waterproofing or imprint of tiles on the exterior of the vault suggests that a timber roof always protected the church from the weather.

The interior of the church, 9.75 m. from entrance to apse, is divided into three irregular bays by two pairs of large, engaged piers which support slightly pointed longitudinal arches to form three blind recesses along the north and south walls (figs. 3, 4, and text figs. II, III).

The smaller eastern bay, together with the apse, forms the bema and the recesses on its north and south side serve as the prothesis and diaconicon respectively. Divided from the bema by a wooden iconostasis is the naos, formed by the central and

¹⁷ Other views of the building are published in Winfield, "Reports on Monagri," fig. 4 (west façade), and Republic of Cyprus, *Annual Report*, figs. 7, 8, and 12.

western bays of the church. The whole of the space from the apse to the west wall is covered by a continuous, slightly pointed barrel-vault which has been strengthened by two pointed ashlar ribs (fig. 3). Two timber tie-beams penetrate the vault to connect timber plates under the eaves of the roof and a third, external tie-beam similarly connects these plates as they project beyond the west wall of the church. Three doors once served the western bay; the major one in the west wall and side doors in the north and south walls. The north and west doors remain in use, while the south door was blocked at an unknown date (text fig. II). A fourth door, in the south wall of the central bay, was also blocked sometime after the mid-sixteenth-century frescoes around it were painted. A small window above this door had been blocked by this time, since its blocking is covered by these frescoes. Five windows remain; a minor one in each of the three northern recesses, a triple window in the apse (fig. 2 and text fig. IV), and a round arched window with perforated stone grille above the west door.

In contrast to the regular form of the building apparent on the exterior (fig. 2), the interior architectural elements lack axial symmetry (text fig. II). Only the altar is centered on axis, although the east and west windows nearly are. The axis of the barrel vault coincides neither with the ideal axis of the building nor with that of the apse.

This misalignment between apse and nave produced a reveal on the north side of the apse which, rising to become the triumphal arch over the apse, narrows irregularly as it descends on the south side. It would disappear entirely had not the main vault been sprung from a point 14 cm. back from the face of the south wall above the arch of the diaconicon recess, thereby forming a ledge over the recesses of the south wall which continues almost to the west end (see text fig. IV, section DD). Below this ledge, the south wall over the diaconicon recess and the curving apse wall met to form a continuous surface with no reveal whatsoever.

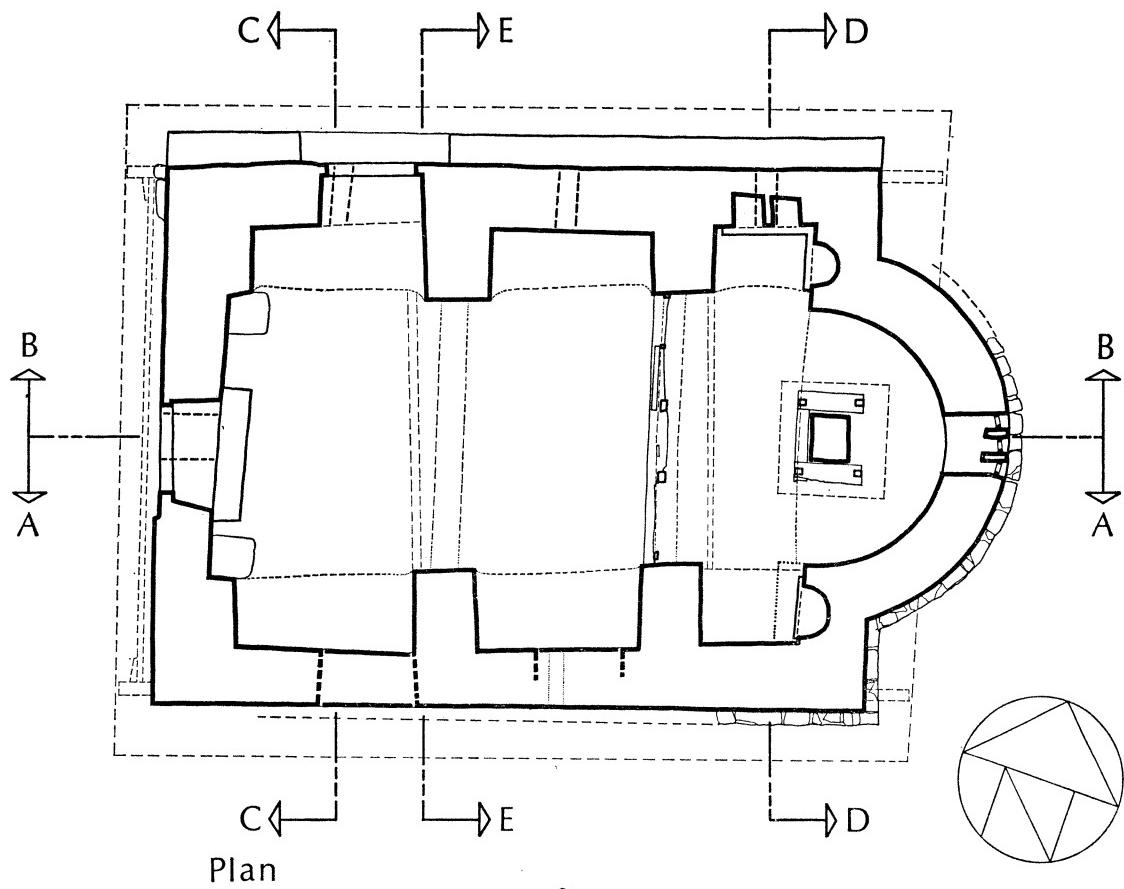
In 1960, the Cyprus Department of Antiquities began conservation of the church. They removed a massive rubble buttress from the exterior of the apse, unblocking the

original, triple-lighted apse window, and cut back the roof which projected precariously over the apse. Further, the ground around the church was leveled, doors and windows were replaced, and the walls of the church were repaired, painted, and plastered where necessary.¹⁸ On the inside, the central light of the apse window had been blocked and covered by a sixteenth-century fresco which, to permit the unblocking, was removed by the Department and is now rehung in the prothesis recess. A painting belonging to the earliest phase of decoration was discovered on the lunette over the three lights of the window. Buried in the fill of the window was a bronze bowl containing 824 Lusignan coins of which the latest are mid-fifteenth century (see Appendix II *infra*).

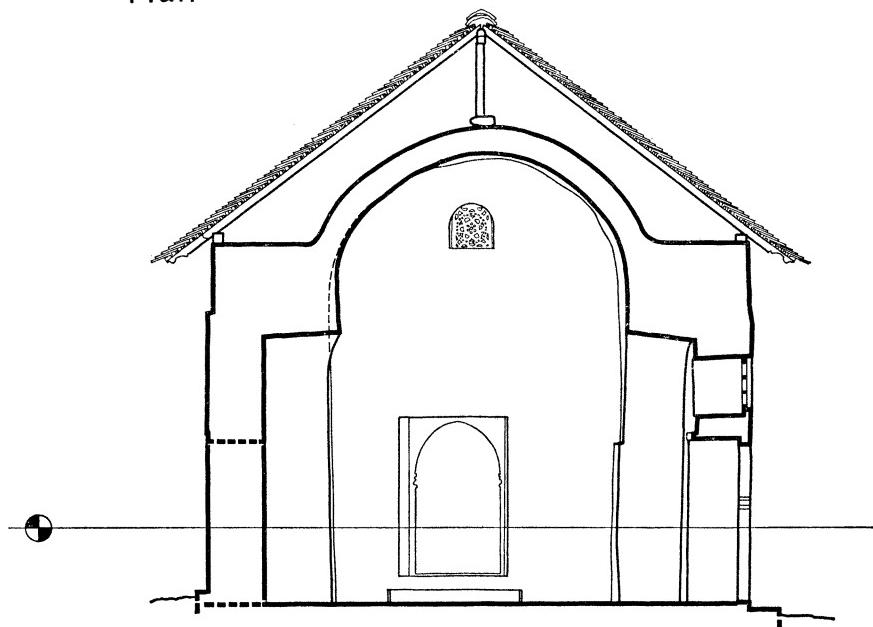
When Dumbarton Oaks began the conservation of the frescoes in 1969, the diaconicon recess was very small, its arch rising to only 1.90 m.¹⁹ (fig. 7 and shown in heavy dotted lines in text figs. II, III, IV [plan, section AA and section DD]). Blocking on its east side had sealed a layer of painting, the edge of which was visible. In 1971, to recover this painting, Dumbarton Oaks reopened the recess and removed the blocking to a height of more than 3.80 m. without revealing even the springing of an earlier recess arch. A reinforced concrete lintel was then inserted to support the naos vault over the recess (fig. 6), and it is this configuration of the church that is presented in the drawings. On the east side of the recess a tall niche survived complete to the base of its semidome which has been reconstructed to a height of 3.53 m., a remarkable 1.34 m. higher than the equivalent niche in the prothesis recess. Assuming that the diaconicon recess was indeed covered by an arch, it must have sprung from a point higher than 3.80 m. and have risen to at least 4.50 m.; only above this elevation could the original naos vault have sprung. The floor level associated with the

¹⁸ For an account of the work, see Republic of Cyprus, *Annual Report*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ Elevations are given with respect to a datum established at the lowest point inside the church before work was begun by Dumbarton Oaks in 1969, this being a point on the surface of the modern concrete floor in the naos. In the presented drawings, a line is included at 1.00 m. above the zero elevation.

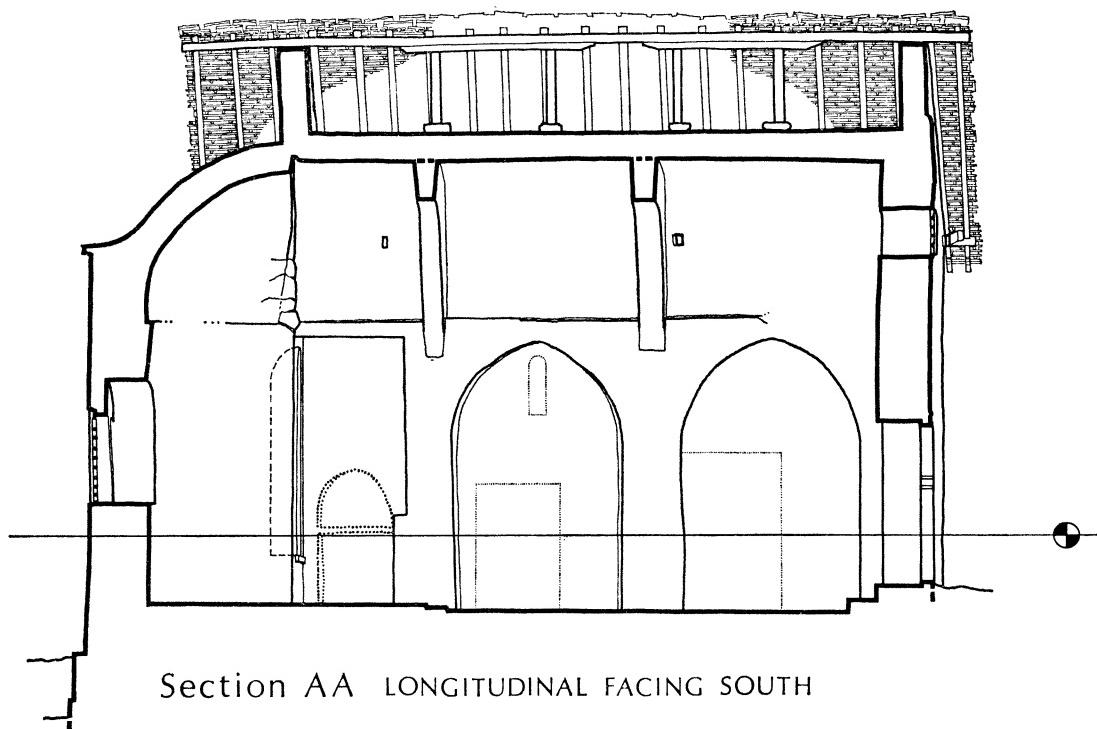


Plan

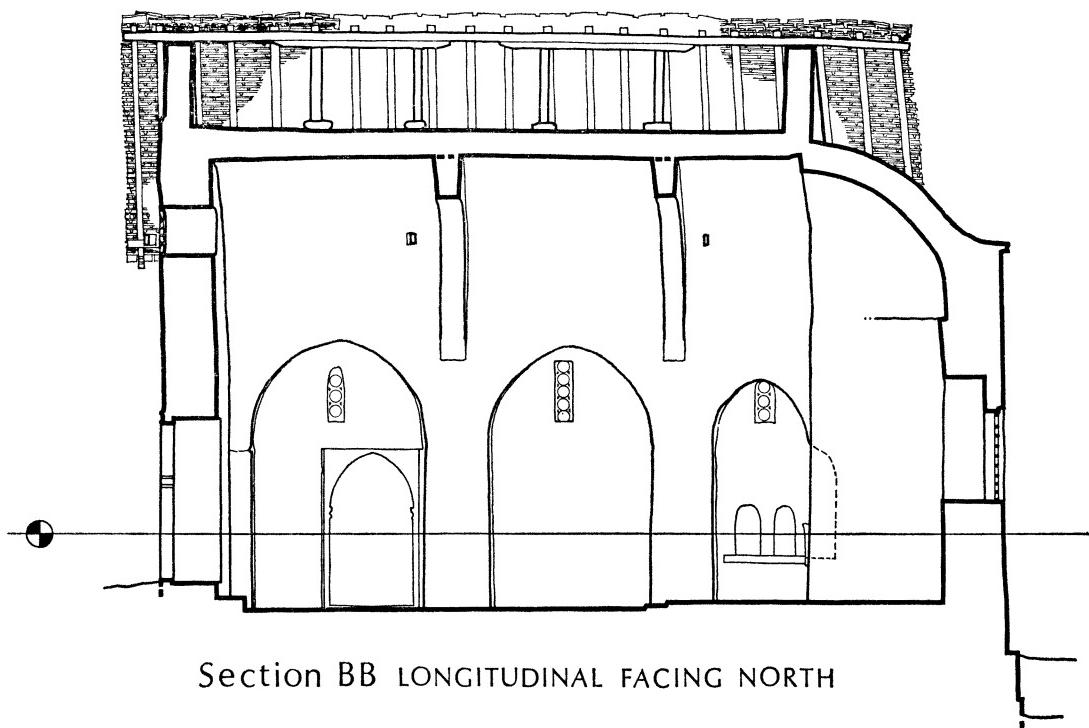


Section CC THROUGH WEST BAY FACING WEST

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Meters

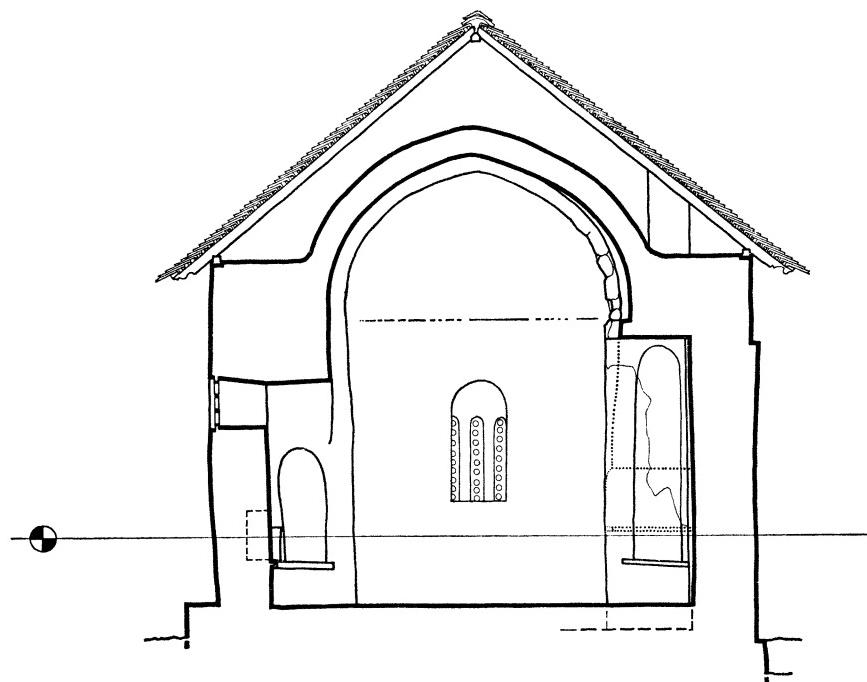


Section AA LONGITUDINAL FACING SOUTH

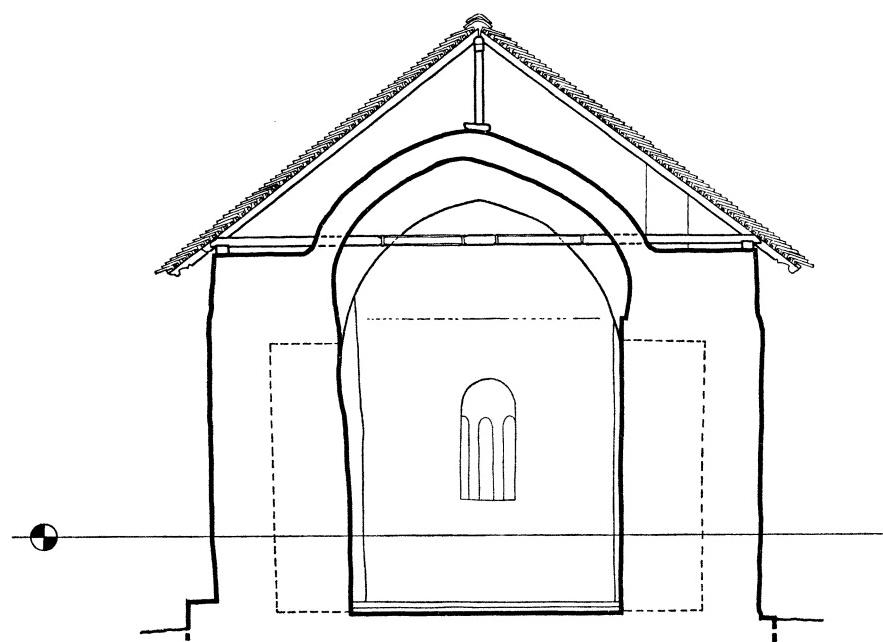


Section BB LONGITUDINAL FACING NORTH

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Meters



Section DD THROUGH BEMA FACING EAST

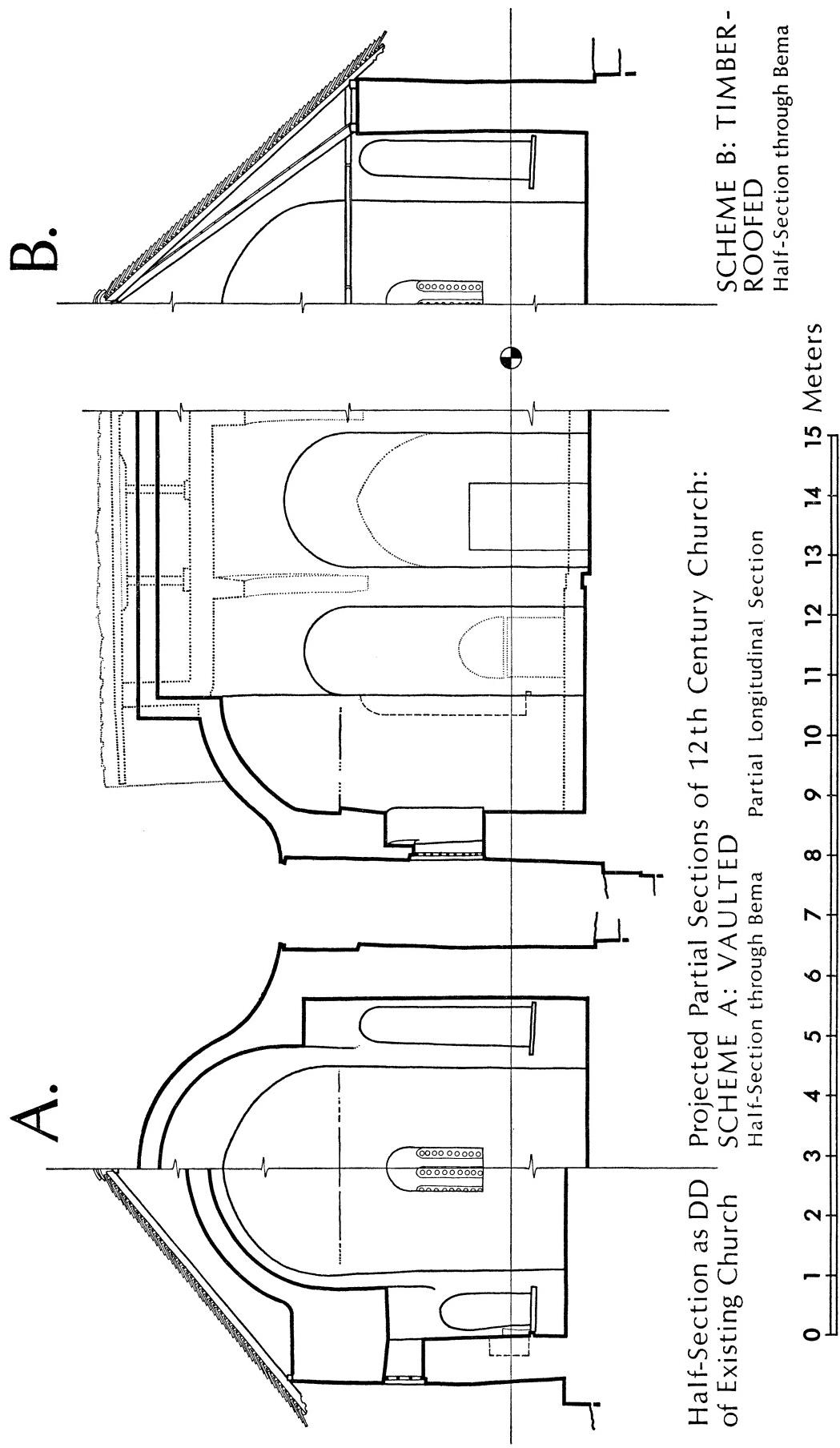


Section EE THROUGH WESTERN PIERS FACING EAST

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Meters

A.

B.



V.

R. Anderson

early diaconicon was found 35 cm. below the modern concrete floor of the bema (fig. 8) (at elevation minus 0.24 m.); so the total height of the original diaconicon recess could have been no less than 4.74 m.

The *terminus post quem* for dating the earliest form of the church is given by the date of its earliest paintings. These, which are of the twelfth century, were recovered by unblocking the lunette of the apse window (fig. 10), and the east and south walls of the diaconicon recess (fig. 6). There are, in addition, three tiny fragments, one low on the apse wall, seen through breaks in the sixteenth-century painting, and two on the north wall of the eastern recess of the naos which appear to pass behind the piers on either side.^{19a} From these it can be assumed that the lower parts of the apse, and of the east, south, and north walls, belong to the original structure. Indeed, only the west wall and the piers are not included in this dating. The piers are specifically excluded (at least in their present large form) by the painting passing behind them. The west wall, however, is probably original, for its present form meets the original architectural requirements.

Two possible reconstructions of the early church are illustrated in partial sections contrasted against sections of the existing building (text fig. V). Scheme A is based on the assumption that some type of engaged pier existed and that the church was vaulted. In order to accommodate the high diaconicon recess, the main vault of this reconstruction must rise approximately 1.50 m. higher than the present vault height of 6.00 m. and, assuming the original floor of the naos is 35 cm. below the modern one, as in the bema, the total internal height would be a lofty 7.85 m. Scheme B is based on the likelihood of a timber roof always having been a part of the structure. This is supported by the fact that without piers—and the

^{19a} A fourth fragment of twelfth-century painting exists on a single stone of the northwest recess vault which, because it is recessed behind the general surface of other stones, appears to have been clinging to the stone when it was built into the vault. Many other stones with painting clinging to them were found in the blocking of the diaconicon recess.

evidence suggests that originally there were none—the unbraced side walls could not have supported a vault. The timber roof of scheme B would have been similar to the existing one in dimension, but with the double rafters common to surviving Cypriot timber-roofed churches.²⁰ External rafters support the tile roof while internal ones support a ceiling of thin wooden panels which, by providing a space under the tiles, insulate the church from heat and drafts. Tie-beams join the twin plates on the top of each wall to form a strong cribbing which strengthens the structure immensely. Such roofs are common in the Cyprus mountains today where they shed the winter rain and snow more efficiently than would tiled or limed vaults, and of course they utilize the available timber for which Cyprus has long been famous.

By the thirteenth century, the structure of the church was significantly altered. The cause of the church's collapse is not known, but it is interesting to note that debris from the earlier structure, including stones with bits of fresco adhering to them, was used in its reconstruction (for instance, the fill for the diaconicon and in the arch of the northwest recess). The entire church, except perhaps the apse, was repainted at this time; so most of the interior surfaces must be dated by this second period of painting. Thus, the prothesis, the small diaconicon, the naos recesses with their pointed arches, and the main vault are all from this period, as is perhaps the apse vault, for its slightly pointed shape is similar to that of the main vault.²¹ It is probable that the apse proper

²⁰ The earliest dated timber-roofed church in Cyprus is the Panagia at Moutoullas, dated 1280 (*Soteriou, Μνημεῖα*, pl. 52). The roofs covering the domed churches at St. Nicholas tis Stegis and Lagoudera are thought to be later additions. However, the existence of a twelfth-century timber roof is suggested by recent work of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities in the church of St. Anna in Kalliana near Kakopetria (see Republic of Cyprus, *Annual Report for the Year 1972* [1973], 11, no. 14, figs. 22–23).

²¹ The earliest dated pointed arch appears at Lagoudera (1192) (A. Stylianou, 'Αι τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου, Λαγουδέρα, Κύπρος, in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνοῦς Βυζαν-*

belongs to the first phase, but that the conch was rebuilt in the thirteenth century.

It is unfortunate that the fourteenth-century phase of painting, located principally in the west bay of the naos, is insignificant in its relationship to the building. Were it more extensive, perhaps it would shed some light on the establishment of the south aisle and hence the outbuildings. It is only the last phase that gives more information.

The existence of the south aisle by the mid-sixteenth century may be inferred from the fact that the window in the southeast recess was blocked and covered with frescoes of this date, as apparently it was no longer useful for admitting light. However, the blocked doorway below must have been open at this time to give access to the aisle, for the borders of the sixteenth-century paintings were defined by its jambs and lintel. The architectural evidence indicates only that the south aisle was not an original feature of the church, but that it existed by the time the church was redecorated in the sixteenth century. The structural similarity of the south aisle to the rest of the monastery buildings suggests that they may be contemporary with it.

The transverse ribs that were added to strengthen the vault seal paintings of the thirteenth century. Their pointed, ashlar construction is similar to the architectural moldings of the two surviving doors of the church, though the latter are more elaborate and of better workmanship. The doorway arches spring from simply molded blocks and have round corner moldings on the jambs and voussoirs terminated by chamfer stops. The moldings seem to have been inserted, for the west door, at least, has existed since the thirteenth century; their style is

typical of Frankish as well as later work in Cyprus and it seems probable that they, together with the ribs, belong to the sixteenth-century period of redecoration.

THE WALLPAINTINGS

The wallpaintings within the church provide a general chronological framework within which the principal structural periods of the building may be placed, since neither the date of its original construction nor the dates of subsequent alterations can be precisely determined on the basis of the architectural forms. Four periods of decoration have been distinguished in this study: the early twelfth century, the early thirteenth, the first half of the fourteenth, and the mid-sixteenth century. Of these, only the latest paintings, those of the sixteenth century, are dated, and as such represent an important addition to the body of dated paintings in Cypriot churches. Although they are not included in the present study, they will be described in full in a separate article. The frescoes of the first three periods are described individually below.²²

PERIOD I

The earliest frescoes, which in all likelihood belong to the original decoration, are preserved in a fragmentary state in the eastern part of the church: in the lunette of the apse window, on the lower apse wall, and in the tall recess on the south side of the bema that served as the diaconicon. None of these paintings was visible until recently

τινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, I [= 'Ελληνικά, Παράρτ. 9] (Athens, 1955), pls. 142 and 143 [sections]; hereafter cited as Stylianou, *Λαζαρέτο*), and thereafter at Christ Antiphonites (*ca.* 1200) (Soteriou, *Μνημεῖα*, fig. 14 [section]) and the narthex at Asinou (late twelfth or early thirteenth century) (Harold Buxton, Bishop of Gibralter, V. Seymour, W. H. Buckler, and Mrs. W. H. Buckler, "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus and Its Frescoes," *Archaeologia*, 83 [1933], figs. on pp. 334–35 [sections]; hereafter referred to as *Archaeologia*, 83 [1933]).

²² Except where otherwise noted, the use of "left" and "right" in the descriptions of the figures applies to the figures themselves, rather than to the point of view of the observer. The dimensions, exclusive of red borders, are given as height followed by width. The Greek inscriptions are given as they are preserved and accents and breathings are transcribed exactly as they occur. In some cases their absence may be due to loss of paint. The end of each line is indicated by a vertical line (|); a double vertical line (||) means the inscription continues on the other side of the figure.

because they had been blocked up by the various repairs to the church and hidden behind the sixteenth-century paintings. Undoubtedly, their preservation is due exclusively to this fact; for apart from these two areas, and two fragments in the naos,²³ no other frescoes of the original decoration have been discovered. The lunette painting was uncovered when the structural repairs of the building were undertaken by the Department of Antiquities in 1960. At that time, it was decided to remove the sixteenth-century fresco that covered the lunette and central mullions in order to reopen the original triple-lighted window, visible from the outside once the massive buttressing had been removed from the exterior of the apse. The frescoes in the diaconicon were uncovered only in 1971, when it was decided to investigate the fragment of a censer just visible through a crack in the sixteenth-century plaster. The niche was reopened to nearly its original height²⁴ (figs. 6, 7) and fragments of five figures were found on the east side of the niche.

In the lunette of the apse window (54 by 45.5 cm.) is the bust of St. Spyridon, bishop of Tremithus and one of the most famous fathers of the Cypriot Church. His name is written vertically in white letters at the right: [δ ᾧγιος] || C | πυ | ρι | δ | ω | υ | (figs. 10, 11). The lunette is preserved in two separate fragments, of which the larger includes most of the figure, which is in only fair condition.²⁵ The lower red border of the lunette originally

²³ These fragments were discovered on the north wall of the northeast recess; they extended behind the pier, thus indicating the existence of the paintings before the construction of the present piers, which belong to the first repair of the church (see *supra*, p. 285). Apparently no design was discernible, and they have since been covered by modern plaster. The fragments were mentioned but not described by Winfield, in *Report of the Cyprus Dept. of Antiq.* (1971), 149.

²⁴ For structural reasons it was not possible to open the diaconicon to its original height. The present flat ceiling is not, of course, intended to represent the original construction.

²⁵ The face is well preserved but most of the figure is eroded. In addition, the upper right corner of the cap, part of the right shoulder, and all of the right arm and hand, except for the fingertips, have been restored.

followed the curve of the arches as it has been restored, and the present blue-black ground was probably covered with blue pigment which has powdered off.²⁶ The saint wears his distinctive yellow, woven-straw cap and holds in his left hand a book with blue-black pages and a jewelled ochre cover, dotted with large white pearls, while his right hand is raised before his chest in a gesture of blessing. His short, curly gray-green hair is combed forward, with four small curls projecting low over his forehead from beneath the cap but leaving his ears exposed. His straight, medium-length beard comes to a point below the collarbone. The modeling of the ochre flesh tones is smoothly graduated and the features are drawn with a firm line. His eyes glance to his right from beneath sharply delineated, arched brows hatched with white, and a narrow V-form is drawn in red to define the depression between the eyes. He wears a light yellow phelonion drawn in white and shaded with green, and a pale green omophorion, edged in white and decorated with a black quatrefoil cross on each shoulder.

On the apse wall, at a level 37 cm. below the window sill, is a small fragment (7.5 by 19.4 cm.) consisting mainly of an earth-red background with a segment of the left side of a halo. It is probably the remains of a roundel (hence the red ground) with a bust figure of the Apostle Barnabas or St. Epiphanius, two Cypriot Church fathers who are frequently honored with a place in the apse.²⁷

²⁶ Samples of the red border and blue-black ground have been analyzed at the Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University: see Appendix I, pp. 329–30 and Chart A.2, A.3, A.6, and A.6a.

²⁷ At Asinou (1105/6) and Perachorio (ca. 1160–80), both Epiphanius and Barnabas are placed below the window on the apse wall (M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106 et sa contribution à l'iconographie* [Brussels, 1966], pl. xxii, a–b; A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and Its Frescoes," *DOP*, 16 [1962] [hereafter cited as "Perachorio"], 288, figs. 2 and 19). At Lagoudera, Barnabas and an unidentified saint (probably Epiphanius) are small-scale figures between the windows, while below the window are the busts of Spyridon and another figure (A. and J. Stylianou, *The*

In the diaconicon, remains of five figures and a high painted dado (85 cm. high) are preserved on the east side, with a bit of the dado turning the corner onto the south wall (fig. 8). The dado, painted on a white ground, consists of a wide chevron design composed of diagonal bands in three tones—yellow wash, red wash, and red—with a green trefoil outlined in black in the center; separating the chevrons is a thick wavy black line against the white ground. A similar floriated chevron design ornaments the dado in the apse at Asinou (1105/6).²⁸

On the face of the pier separating the eastern niche of the recess from the main apse is a full-length standing figure of a youthful deacon (height 1.52 m.), who is identified as *St. Athanasios Pentaskinos*, a little-known Cypriot saint from the village of Pentaskinos, near Khirokitia²⁹ (figs. 12, 15, and color fig. A). The identifying inscription is written in white: ὁ ἄγιος Αθανάσιος across the top of his halo, and Πεντάκηνος written vertically on the right. Standing frontally, his eyes glancing sharply to his right, he holds in his left hand an ornate pyxis with a domed lid, which is painted yellow-ochre; the outlines of the box

Painted Churches of Cyprus [Stourbridge, 1964], fig. 42 [section Γ-Δ], no. 23 [hereafter cited as Stylianou, *Painted Churches*].

²⁸ Sacopoulou, *Asinou*, pls. xxix, xxiiia, and xxxi. Here the background of the chevron is solid ochre rather than divided into bands of color, and the green floral motif has small red lobes. Another variation of the same pattern and color scheme occurs at the monastery of St. Chrysostomos (early twelfth century) in an ossuary niche in the northwest recess (unpublished).

²⁹ I am indebted to David Winfield for the initial reading of the name. The saint is listed by H. Delehaye, "Saints de Chypre," *AnalBoll*, 26 (1907), 256, who, however, tells us nothing of his life except that he was thought to have curative powers; see also J. Hackett, *Iστορία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἑκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου*, ed. X. I. Papaioannou, II (Piraeus, 1927), 171. A village of Pendaskinos (near Khirokitia) is mentioned by Gunnis (*Historic Cyprus* [note 5 *supra*], 206), but no longer appears on local maps. This representation of Athanasios Pentaskinos is the only Byzantine example I know of in Cyprus, but Winfield informed me of a sixteenth-century example among the paintings at Palekhori (unpublished).

and the orange-red³⁰ jewels are drawn in both black and white. In his right hand, suspended on three black and white chains, is an ochre censer; its hatched design is drawn in black and the whole outlined in white. He has medium-length, curly, brown hair, highlighted with ochre, which is drawn back behind his ears. He wears a long purple-brown undertunic with black fold-lines and a pale apricot-colored surplice, shaded with a darker apricot tone and brown fold-lines. Almost all of the apricot tone is covered by a white wash with areas of thick white highlights. Around his neck and falling over his left shoulder is a narrow white orarion, decorated with small black crosslets and a diagonally hatched design enclosed within narrow bands, also drawn in black; the design was originally painted orange and red, but little color now remains. A dark red cloth accented with bright orange-red highlights and decorated in white with crosslets between double white lines is clasped in his left hand beneath the pyxis.

Above the saint are the stepped pedestal and column of a stylite saint, but the figure itself has been lost (fig. 14). The two-stepped pedestal is painted in three tones—red wash, yellow wash, and white—while the pink marble column, veined in red, is shaded white at the left and dark red at the right, and encircled with two black tie bands. At the top, painted ochre, is the wide convex molding below the missing capital.

Within the eastern niche of the recess are two full-length standing bishops. On the left is *St. Athanasios of Alexandria*, whose name is written in white letters across the top of his halo, although only the first two letters are preserved: ὁ ἄγιος Αθ [ανάσιος] (figs. 13, 16). He is recognizable by his full square beard and short gray hair, a tuft of which is combed forward over his high forehead.³¹ His red-brown eyebrows are highlighted with a thick stroke of white rather than a hatched

³⁰ See color analysis, Appendix I, p. 329 and Chart A.5.

³¹ The contemporary and very nearly identical physiognomy of St. Athanasios in the monastery of St. Chrysostomos may be cited for purposes of comparison (C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962-1963," *DOP*, 18 [1964], fig. 43).

line. He wears a light red sticharion,³² which has an ochre epimanikion decorated with pearls and a vermiculated design in black, a pale green phelonion highlighted with white wash and white lights, and a cream-colored omophorion edged in white with black crosses. The encheirion suspended from his waist and the epitrachelion, which hangs down in front as a single band, are painted yellow with black designs. In his left hand he holds a book, with black pages and an ochre cover decorated with red-orange gems within circular settings; he balances it with the fingers of his right hand. The unidentified bishop next to him, who is preserved only from the waist down, wore a light gray sticharion, purple-brown phelonion, and liturgical vestments similar to those worn by Athanasios (fig. 17). All the figures wear black boots.

The last fragment belonging to this series is found on the lower left corner of the conch of the niche (fig. 14). Unfortunately, it is so incomplete that its subject cannot be identified, although it was presumably a figure. All that can be seen is a small section of gray clothing, and below it, an unrecognizable object with a yellow border outlined in black at the left, and a red field at the right.

With the exception of the lunette with St. Spyridon, the ground behind the figures is divided into a lower zone of green, probably *terra verde*,³³ which is relatively well preserved, and an upper zone of blue,³⁴ painted over a black ground. The figures were nimbed, the ochre halos being outlined with an outer white and a thick red inner line; that of the deacon Athanasios was incised in its preliminary stage, but no other evidence of incised outlines occurs in this series of frescoes.

Style and Date

These early paintings are distinguished by the careful and competent drawing of the faces, in which the outlines of head, hair, beard, and facial features are delineated in

³² Red ground, intermediate red wash, dark red fold-lines, and white highlights (both in solid areas and thin lines).

³³ See color analysis, Appendix I, p. 329 and Chart A.1 (sample from ground of stylite saint).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 330 and Chart A.4 and A.3.

firm strokes. The features are drawn in sepia, with additional drawing in black, and the ochre flesh tones are built up over a green proplasmos with the colors smoothly blended in a softly graduated modeling; dilute red warms the cheeks, forehead, and lips. Characteristics common to all the faces are the glancing eyes which look out from beneath sharply arched brows; the line descending from the inner corner of the eye; the sharp, angular line defining the nostrils; the V-form between the eyes, painted first in the light flesh tones of the ridge of the nose and then in sepia, especially noticeable in the faces of Bishops Spyridon and Athanasios (figs. 11 and 16); and the distinctive convention used for the rather large ears. These features have been defined by David Winfield, in a recent article on a group of early twelfth-century paintings in Cyprus, as characteristics of a school of painters working in the first decades of the twelfth century, specifically at the monastery of St. Chrysostomos, at Asinou, and at the church of the Panagia at Trikomo.³⁵ Only the frescoes at Asinou (1105/6) are specifically dated by a painted inscription.³⁶ While a dedicatory inscription is preserved in the monastery of St. Chrysostomos, it does not give a precise date for the founding of the church; one may deduce only that the frescoes date from either the end of the eleventh or the second decade of the twelfth century.³⁷ The frescoes of the Panagia at Trikomo are not dated.³⁸

³⁵ "Haghios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou. Byzantine Painters at Work," Πρακτικά τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦ Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου ("Εταιρεία Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν") (Nicosia, 1972), II, 283–91, esp. 287–89 and pls. L–LX.

³⁶ For the inscription, see *Archaeologia*, 83 (1933), 343, no. 41, A; A. and J. Stylianou, "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplication in the Painted Churches in Cyprus," *JÖBG*, 9 (1960), 98,a; Sacopoulo, *Asinou*, 9–10.

³⁷ The inscription relates only that the church was built by a certain Eumathius Philocales, whom we know to have been governor of Cyprus at two different times—from 1092 to ca. 1103 and from ca. 1110 until before 1118 (Mango-Hawkins, "Field Work ... Cyprus," *DOP*, 18, 335–37).

³⁸ Winfield ("Haghios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou," 289) believes the Trikomo paintings to be by the same hand as the Asinou

What the precise relationship of the Monagri paintings is to these other frescoes lies beyond the scope of the present paper, but it is useful to note here a few of the more obvious points of comparison. The similarity of the dado pattern with that at Asinou (and, to a lesser extent, the pattern at St. Chrysostomos) has already been mentioned, and closer examination reveals that many other details are virtually identical at Monagri and Asinou. For example, the design of the cover of the book held by Spyridon is the same as that on the books held by certain of the Church Fathers in the Asinou apse;³⁹ the domed pyxis held by Athanasios Pentaskinos is similar to that held by a deacon in the diaconicon (unpublished); the embroidered design on the episcopal vestments, the epimanikion, the encheirion, and especially the design of the epitrachelion, which consists of a black and white checkerboard pattern and a diapered zone enclosing clawed settings, with or without a jewel, find close parallels with the vestments of SS. Nicholas and Ignatios.⁴⁰ Furthermore, a comparison of the three faces preserved at Monagri (figs. 11, 15, and 16) with those at Asinou and St. Chrysostomos, reproduced by Winfield,⁴¹ demonstrates that the conventions used for eyes, nose, ears, and mouth are closely related. At the same time, certain differences are apparent among the three sets of paintings: the shape of the Asinou heads is somewhat exaggerated, with the cranium swelling out in an abnormally bulbous form, while those at Monagri and Chrysostomos retain a more natural shape. The brushwork at Monagri vacillates between the firm, competent drawing of the faces of Spyridon and Bishop Athanasios, and the rather careless execution of Athanasios

frescoes, therefore no later than the first quarter of the twelfth century; A. H. S. Megaw ("Twelfth Century Frescoes in Cyprus," *Actes du XII^e congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride, 1961*, III [Belgrade, 1964], 263) suggests a date toward the middle of the century.

³⁹ Compare especially those held by SS. Chrysostom, Ignatios, Theophoros, and Gregory Theologos (Sacopulo, *Asinou*, pls. xxia, xxid, xxiiia, xxic [some captions reversed]).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. xxia.

⁴¹ "Haghios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou," pls. L-LIII.

Pentaskinos, which is particularly clumsy in the rendering of his ears; the latter seems closer to the broad, rapid brushwork of Asinou than to the more meticulous work distinguished by Winfield as typical of the Chrysostomos master. Yet, the smoothly graduated modeling of the Monagri faces is distinctly less linear than that at Asinou and approaches more the Chrysostomos style. In the treatment of the drapery, the paintings at Monagri are somewhat less rigidly patterned and compartmentalized than the Asinou garments, a result of the rather hasty brushwork and loose application of white highlights, particularly noticeable on the surplice of the deacon (fig. 12 and color fig. A). Common to all the paintings is the preference for clear, pale colors achieved by the application of an overall white wash in well-defined patterns. Thus, while the Monagri paintings clearly belong to the family or workshop of painters identified by Winfield, the precise relationship of the paintings and the specific chronology within the group must await further study. Nevertheless, on the basis of the close stylistic connections with the paintings at Asinou and St. Chrysostomos, those at Monagri may be assigned with confidence to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

The Altar

It is possible that the painted masonry altar (fig. 9) preserved in the apse belongs to the original church, for its base extends below the present flooring, but whether it rests on the original floor level, ca. 35 cm. below, we have not been able to determine. Its present dimensions are 60.10 (height) by 60.56 cm. (width). The altar was constructed of both dressed stone and brick which was covered with a layer of plaster and then painted. The three courses above the painted border were probably added to increase the height of the altar at the time the floor was raised. On top of the altar is a separate slab of dressed stone which appears to be a fragment of a rectangular table top; its depressed central area suggests it may have been an Early Christian *mensa* or altar table.⁴²

⁴² Compare J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Munich,

The painted decoration is confined to the front of the altar and covers only the central area. The design consists of a valance, the folds of which are painted dark yellow-ochre on an unpainted plaster ground; it is embroidered with gems and other motifs, painted in black. A border enclosing the valance consists of a meander pattern, untidily drawn, which is also painted black. The valance may be compared with that on the dado preserved in the monastery of the Acheiropoietos at Lamboussa, which provides certain similarities despite its more elaborate design.⁴³ Another similar valance is preserved on a fragmentary dado in the ruined Byzantine chapel in the castle of St. Hilarion near Kyrenia.⁴⁴ It is undecorated except for an upper border composed of small circles like that at Monagri and is also painted in yellow-ochre on the unpainted plaster ground. Neither of these churches is dated, but the few surviving wallpaintings at Lamboussa appear to belong to the first half of the twelfth century, and the church in St. Hilarion may also be of this period. Arguing against the early twelfth century date is the untidy brushwork of the border and the embroidered motifs, which is atypical of the early twelfth century in general and the Lamboussa valance in particular. Moreover, parallels for the meander pattern are found more readily among paintings of the late twelfth and the thirteenth century,⁴⁵ although their execution is somewhat more precise than that of the Monagri design. The closest comparison is found in the church of the Forty Martyrs at Sövis in Cappadocia, which is dated 1216/17.⁴⁶ Whatever its precise date,

1924), I, 245ff., esp. 259–72; *RAC*, 1 (1950), cols. 337–39 and 342–43, figs. 18–20.

⁴³ Soteriou, *Mνησιά*, pls. 63b and 115a; Soteriou, in a note to pl. 63, dates the paintings eleventh to twelfth century, a date I believe somewhat too early.

⁴⁴ Soteriou, *ibid.*, fig. 13 (plan); the dado fragment is unpublished.

⁴⁵ E.g., Studenica, St. Nicola (second half of the twelfth century) (Z. Janc, *Ornamenti fresaka iz Srbije i Makedonije od XII do sredine XV veka* [Belgrade, 1961], pl. II, no. 12); Lagoudera (1192), dado (unpublished); Kalopanayiotis (thirteenth century) (unpublished).

⁴⁶ M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien* (Recklinghausen, 1967), III, figs. 417–18 (Nativity, detail on manger).

the altar is undoubtedly one of the few painted examples preserved from the Byzantine period.⁴⁷

PERIOD II

The second and largest group of paintings belongs to what must have been the complete redecoration of the church, following some disaster, most likely an earthquake, that had severely damaged the fabric of the building. At this time, both the prothesis and diaconicon were blocked up and smaller recesses, of markedly different dimensions, were constructed; at the same time, the piers on the north and south walls of the naos were either added for the first time or strengthened to support the barrel vault, which was constructed with a pointed arch, as were those of the recesses. The use of the pointed arch here is of considerable importance in establishing a *terminus post quem* for this group of paintings since it becomes current in Cyprus only toward the end of the twelfth century.⁴⁸

The paintings of this period are fragmentary and have suffered badly from the effect of moisture seeping through the vault, which has caused the loss of the major part of all but four of the vault paintings. Considerable areas of the frescoes are obscured by the cross-ribs, which were probably added in the sixteenth century to support the sagging vault (fig. 4), and further damage was done at an unknown date when wooden tie-beams were inserted through the frescoes to support the timber roof. Nevertheless, it is fortunate that the surviving frescoes were not overpainted during later restorations, so that their style and colors have come down to us unaltered. Furthermore, enough survives of the individual scenes to permit the identification of the iconographic pro-

⁴⁷ Compare the similar masonry altar preserved in Kurbinovo, on which is a painted inscription giving the date of 1191 for the wallpaintings. The altar's dimensions are 1.24 by 0.51 m. See A. Nikolovski, "Konzervatorski rabot na Crkvata Sv. Gorgi vo selo Kurbinovo," *Kulturno Nasledstvo*, 1 (Skopje, 1959), 44 and fig. 10; *idem*, *The Frescoes of Kurbinovo* (Belgrade, 1961), 1–2 and fig. 5.

⁴⁸ For examples, see *supra*, note 21.

gram, which consisted of a complete cycle of the twelve great feasts running along the north and south sides of the vault and ending on the west wall with the Koimesis. In addition, the four evangelists occupied the eastern and western spandrels of the arches below the vault, and a number of single figures are preserved on the walls of the prothesis and the northeast recess of the naos.

A peculiarity of the church is that the horizontal division of the vault and wall space on the north and south sides of the naos is unequal owing to the deep ledge which runs along nearly the entire length of the south wall, at a level just above the recesses (see p. 280 *supra*, and figs. 3, 19, and 24). The existence of the ledge precludes the division of the vault and wall space into two zones as on the north side. As a result, on the south side, there could be only one zone of paintings, which had to be extended down to the level of the ledge. The additional 60 cm. of height thus makes these exceptionally elongated compositions.

The vaults are divided into five panels from bema to west wall, the fields defined by red borders outlined in white, 4 to 6 cm. wide; because of the ledge, there is no lower red border on the south vault. The panels were 3.15 m. high on the south vault and 2.56 m. on the north,⁴⁹ and their widths ranged from 1.295 m. (Presentation) to 1.72 m. (Ascension). All the scenes had a dark blue upper background, which is generally well preserved, and several have a zone of green ground which is well preserved only in the Koimesis. With the exception of the apostles in the Koimesis, all the figures are nimbed, the haloes being yellow-ochre edged with an outer white and inner black line. Christ is always distinguished by a cross-shaped nimbus in which the arms of the cross, flared at the ends, are outlined in double black lines; the internal decoration is drawn in red and differs slightly in the three examples.

The faces and hands of the figures are drawn in red-brown or, less frequently, in brown, while the contours of the figures

are outlined thickly in black or dark red. The palette will be discussed below, but it may be noted here that the color scheme of the garments is restricted basically to four tones: ground color, fold-lines of darker ground color, an intermediate tone or white wash, and white highlights. More than two intermediate tones are rarely used and complementary colors almost never, the only exception being red-brown, which is used to shade ochre and occasionally olive brown. Certain colors such as vivid scarlet are not modulated at all, nor is the bright blue, except when worn by the Virgin; then it may additionally have dilute gray highlights. Black is used for the contour and fold-lines of the blue, and red-brown is used on the scarlet.

With the exception of the Koimesis, it appears that titles were not included on the feast scenes, but the paintings are too badly damaged to be certain. Inscriptions are generally painted in thin white letters, although thick and/or black letters are also sometimes used.

The Festival Cycle

The cycle begins with the *Annunciation* (fig. 18) in the center of the north wall, placed on the spandrel between the arches of the two northern recesses; it is now divided in two by the supporting rib. Only a narrow strip along the upper part of the scene is preserved but, even in its incomplete state, it is a wider composition than any of those on the vault.⁵⁰ The figures and most of the architectural background are lost, but the identification of the scene is confirmed by the inscription identifying the Archangel Gabriel, ο Αρχ[άγγελος] Γ[αβριήλ], and the usual sigla ΜΗΡ' ΘΥ^ for the Virgin. The building before which she was placed is lost except for the pediment and roofline, the latter entirely covered with a length of scarlet cloth decorated at intervals with a circle between double white lines. The structure had a cornice of acanthus leaves and a distinctive semicircular, scalloped pediment—a motif which occurs in Byzantine

⁴⁹ The heights are those of the Presentation in the Temple and the Crucifixion, the only two panels with the height fully preserved.

⁵⁰ Maximum dimensions 0.43 m. by 1.84 m. The width of the wall panels varies from 1.295 to 1.72 m.

art,⁵¹ but which is so far without parallels in Cyprus. Both are drawn in black and outlined in white on an olive green ground.

The cycle continues at the east end of the south vault of the naos with the *Nativity*⁵² (figs. 19, 20, 21, and color fig. B), preserved on two fragments to a height of 2.06 m. and the full width of 1.67 m. Only the lower third of the scene survives, in excellent condition, with Joseph brooding at the left, the Bathing of the Child at the right, and the old shepherd hearing the news in the upper right.

The episode of the Bathing of the Child (fig. 20) is situated before a light olive brown hill outlined with a broad band of white that separates it from the surrounding burnt orange landscape. In the lower foreground, two small mounds of the same color, lighted along the contours with white wash, suggest an undulating landscape, while a number of flowering plants with leafy stalks and white-petalled red flowers grow around the mound and along the side of the hill. Dominating the scene is an enormous circular basin with a flaring foot, which is painted a light orangy red with red-brown decoration. A single U-shaped handle is visible on the front. The basin is seen obliquely from above, while the foot is seen straight on, producing a flat effect because of the lack of perspective or shading.

Salome ([*Caλώ*]μη), seen in profile, advances from the viewer's right to fill the basin, emptying into it a large jug of water. The jug has a pale yellow, bulbous body without handles, a long narrow neck, and is decorated in black. Holding the vessel nearly upside down, Salome pours its contents into the basin, the lines of swirling water being indicated in white against a gray ground in a conventionalized design. She is dressed in a bright blue tunic, which has long sleeves rolled up to above the elbow, and a vivid scarlet mantle. Although Salome's head is lost, a bit of her billowing transparent veil

⁵¹ Such shell-pediments occur in the Menologion of Basil II (Vat. cod. gr. 1613): *Il menologio di Basilio II*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti, VIII (Turin, 1907), 287, 397, 412.

⁵² Reproduced by Winfield, "Reports on Monagri" (note 10 *supra*), fig. 8 (lower fragment before cleaning).

is preserved on the upper fragment. At the left of the basin, seated on a mound of earth with one leg crossed beneath her and the other stretched out, is the midwife, inscribed ή μέα, who looks up toward Salome. She wears black boots, a scarlet tunic with sleeves rolled up (the left one mistakenly painted blue), and a bright blue mantle. Her long wavy hair is warm brown with ochre highlights, except for three black strands that fall over her brow. Parted in the center, her hair is tied back at the nape of the neck by a red and white fillet that encircles the head. In her outstretched arms, she holds the Infant Christ by his legs in a precarious position directly above the basin. The Child, not at all infant-like in appearance, sits in an awkward pose with his legs in profile extended to the viewer's left, his torso in frontal view with hands crossed over his chest, and his head turned to the right, his gaze directed obliquely outward. Both the pose and the articulation of the body are clumsy, especially in the treatment of the shoulders and hips, while the overlarge head is placed directly on the enormously broad shoulders.

The moment depicted here is not the actual Bathing of the Child, but rather the moment just before the bath, when the Child is suspended tantalizingly above the basin. It is a rare and in certain respects unique representation, corresponding to neither of the two principal versions of this scene.⁵³ The most common type depicts the Bath proper, with the Child submerged in the basin while Salome continues to add water,⁵⁴ and this is the version used in Cyprus in the three surviving pre-fourteenth-century Nativity scenes.⁵⁵ The second type

⁵³ For a recent discussion of the subject and the earlier bibliography, see A. Hermann, "Das erste Bad des Heilands und des Helden in spätantiker Kunst und Legende," *JbAChr*, 10 (1967), 61–81, pls. 1–3; also E. Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art," *DOP*, 17 (1963), 100–5, figs. 3–8.

⁵⁴ E.g., Hosios Loukas, St. Nicholas Kasnitzes, Monreale, Çarıklı Kilise, Karanlık Kilise, Sović.

⁵⁵ E.g., Perachorio (Megaw–Hawkins, "Perachorio" [note 27 *supra*], figs. 30, 33); Lagoudera (Stylianou, Λαγούδερά [note 21 *supra*], pl. 147); Moutoulas (Soteriou, Μνημεῖα, pl. 87 b).

depicts the Preparation of the Bath, in which the midwife is seated or kneeling, usually at the left of the basin (or sometimes directly behind it), holding the Child on her lap and testing the water with her hand, while Salome fills the basin.⁵⁶ For the intermediate stage of action—in which the Child is held either above the basin or, more frequently, with just his feet submerged—there are a few parallels, ranging in date from the tenth to the sixteenth century, but none provides a close analogy to the manner in which the Child is held in the scene at Monagri.⁵⁷ Thus, one can only conclude that the Monagri version is the result of a certain ineptness on the part of the artist vis-à-vis his model and does not mark a deliberate iconographic innovation.

At the left of the panel, Joseph sits brooding, his back turned to the bathing scene, his head resting pensively in his right hand (fig. 21). His figure is enveloped in a light red mantle, which is wrapped like a sling around his right arm and falls over his left shoulder and arm to the ground, leaving exposed only the left hand resting on his knee and his sandaled feet. He has short gray hair and a short full beard, which have suffered some abrasion because the supporting rib was placed over this area. He sits in a hilly landscape, painted burnt orange and shading to darker orangy brown at the edges, where several flowering plants grow. The orange landscape of this lower left corner presumably connected with that on the upper right fragment, where the figure of the old shepherd is seen climbing up the hill to hear the joyful news. Preserved only up to the waist, he wears black boots and is dressed in a shaggy, dark brown fur cloak with tufts of fur indicated in black and ochre. It was

⁵⁶ E.g., Cappella Palatina, Martorana, Sopocani, Gradač.

⁵⁷ It occurs on three tenth-century ivory plaques (cf. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II [Berlin, 1934], pl. II, no. 4 [Paris, Louvre], no. 5 [British Museum], pl. V, no. 17 [Vatican]); in the eleventh-century Parma Tetraevangelium, Biblioteca Palatina, Palat. 5 (G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile* [Paris, 1916], fig. 63); in the twelfth-century fresco in the Evangelistria in Yeraki (*ibid.*, fig. 66); and in the sixteenth-century fresco in the monastery at Dochiarou, Mt. Athos (*ibid.*, fig. 38).

wrapped around his shoulders and fastened in front down to his thigh, where it opens to expose his strongly modeled bare right leg. The flesh tones are dark ochre shaded with green and outlined with thick black lines.

The *Presentation in the Temple* (figs. 19, 22, 23, and color fig. C),⁵⁸ which is one of the best preserved scenes of this series, gives us the original height of *ca.* 3.15 m. for the south vault panels. The scene is made up of three separate fragments, of which the lower two (2.35 m. high) include the entire figural part of the composition. The full width of 1.295 m. is also preserved. An area of loss, running diagonally upward from left to right and widening as it rises, cuts a swath across the figures at hip level.

The four protagonists are arranged in the customary fashion, with the Virgin and Simeon facing each other in the center of the panel and Joseph and the prophetess Anna flanking them left and right. The four figures stand quietly, in a straight horizontal row, on a zone of badly eroded green ground which now appears muddy black.⁵⁹ The Christ Child is held, not by the Virgin, but by the aging Simeon, who, inclining his head tenderly toward the Child, holds Him before his chest in his bare hands. The moment illustrated is that in which Simeon prepares to hand the Child back to the Virgin following the completion of the ceremony (Luke 2: 28).⁶⁰ This probably accounts for the fact that Simeon's hands are bare, for in the majority of those versions of the scene where he prepares to receive the Child from the Virgin prior to the sacrificial ceremony, his hands are ritually covered with a veil. Simeon's holding the Child has sometimes been considered a relatively rare feature in Byzantine art before the thirteenth century.⁶¹ Such is not the case, however,

⁵⁸ Reproduced by Winfield, "Reports on Monagri," fig. 5 (before cleaning).

⁵⁹ Traces of green pigment can still be detected.

⁶⁰ D. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *ArtB*, 28 (1946), 25.

⁶¹ A. Bank, "Les monuments de la peinture byzantine du XIII^e s. dans les Collections de l'URSS," *L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle (= Symposium de Sopocani, 1965)* (Belgrade, 1967), 93; H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the*

and this version occurs with increasing frequency from the middle of the twelfth century, in both manuscript illumination and monumental art; indeed, its popularity reached a peak in the last decade of the twelfth century and the first decade of the thirteenth.⁶²

Simeon wears the scarlet priest's cap and has gray-green hair parted in the center which falls down the back, and a thick, pointed beard with a bristly tuft over the chin (color fig. C). His aged face is characterized by sunken cheeks and heavily furrowed skin, with a thick, well-defined V-formation between the eyes. This figure is exceptionally well preserved and illustrates the distinctive method of modeling at Monagri, in which thick separate "stripes" of ochre flesh tones are laid over the gray-green underpaint without any intermediate gradation, creating an exaggerated and harsh relief. He is dressed in a light, olive green mantle⁶³ and a light red tunic, both lavishly highlighted in white with thin sketchy strokes (fig. 23). The ceremony being com-

Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Oxford, 1957), 4; E. J. Goodspeed, D. Riddle, and H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, III, *The Miniatures* (Chicago, 1932), 156–57.

⁶² In monumental art it occurs in such widely scattered monuments as Pskov (V. Lazarev, *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Hudožestvennaja Kul'tura Pskova* [Moscow, 1968], fig. on p. 19); Bačkovo (A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* [Paris, 1928], text vol., 58, fig. 10); Monreale (O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* [London, 1949], pl. 65b); St. Nicholas Kasnitzes, Hagioi Anargyroi, St. Stephanos, and the Panagia Koubelidike (unpublished), all in Kastoria (S. Pelekanides, Καστορία, I [Album] [Salonica, 1953], pls. 49b, 16b, and 92b); the Paul Cave at Latmos (O. Wulff, "Die Malereien der Asketenhöhlen des Latmos," in Th. Wiegand, *Der Latmos*, Milet, III, i, [Berlin, 1913], fig. 125 and pl. iv, 2 [hereafter cited as Wulff, *Latmos*]); as well as in an abbreviated version in Lagoudera (Stylianou, *Painted Churches* [note 27 *supra*], fig. 32). The earlier literature on the subject is given in the short study in *RBK*, I (Stuttgart, 1966), s.v. "Darstellung im Tempel," cols. 1134–45, esp. 1141–42 (Simeon holding the Child); see also A. Xyngopoulos, 'Υπαπαντή, in 'Επ. 'Ετ. Βυζ. Σπ., 6 (1929), 329, 339 note 1), and Demus, *ibid.*, 338 note 155.

⁶³ See color analysis, Appendix I, p. 330 and Chart B.14.

pleted, Simeon advances toward the Virgin, his right foot in front; traces of his missing left foot survive beneath the sharp fold at the hemline of the tunic.

The Christ Child leans forward, reaching out with his right hand toward the Virgin. In his left, he holds a scroll decorated with double black lines, of which only one end is preserved. Within his yellow nimbus a white cross is outlined untidily in double black lines. Three red dots divide each of its arms lengthwise, and the lower half of the horizontal arms and right half of the vertical arm are shaded with blue. He is dressed in a knee-length ochre tunic, highlighted in light yellow, which leaves his legs exposed. Wrapped around his waist, with narrow bands over his shoulders, is a scarlet cloth decorated at intervals with a circle between double white lines. In contrast to that in the Nativity, this Child is well proportioned, convincingly articulated, and has a child-like appearance.

Facing Him is the tall, attenuated figure of the Virgin, and inscribed above her head in white letters is ΜΗΠ' ΘΩV.⁶⁴ She stands with her head inclined toward the Child in a pose balancing Simeon's, which provides some relief to the otherwise rigid verticality of the composition. Their haloes are outlined with a thicker black line, thus focussing attention on these three principal figures. Both her hands are exposed, the right making a half-gesture toward Christ, the left drawn up before her chest. She wears a dark blue chiton, decorated at the cuff with two bands of dark ochre outlined in cream. Her purple maphorion⁶⁵ is edged around the face with a narrow ochre border, while double bands ornament the hem and the right shoulder. Crosslets made of dots ornament the forehead, shoulders, forearms, and hemline. She wears red slippers, and steps up to the altar with her left foot advanced. Her face is perfectly preserved and, in contrast to that of Simeon, is gradually modeled, with a build-up of pale, creamy flesh tones warmed with touches of red, which are applied to

⁶⁴ The dimensions of the figure are 1.60 m. by 0.345 m., excluding the halo.

⁶⁵ The color is the same as that in the Koimesis; cf. Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart B.9, B.10.

her lips, and, as a circular spot, to her cheeks. The bold shadow along the contour of her cheek and beneath her chin is simply unmodulated green underpaint.

Between the Virgin and Simeon is the altar, draped to the ground with a scarlet⁶⁶ cloth decorated with horizontal bands of double white lines enclosing rows of circles. Two pairs of pale yellow fleurs-de-lis are irregularly placed over the original design of the cloth and appear to be later in date. Before the altar is a curiously shaped, green marble step.⁶⁷ It is not clear whether it is intended to represent a tier of steps before the altar or a pedestal base of the altar itself. On the altar is placed a white scroll, shaded in blue, instead of the usual codex. Of the baldachin over the altar, all that is left are the three slender columns supporting it, which serve to set the figures of Simeon and the Virgin off from the others.

At the left of the panel, Joseph stands in a more-or-less three-quarter pose, his right shoulder overlapping the red border; inscribed above his head in thick black letters is Θ Πιώσηφ. Joseph is not normally inscribed and the epithet, which stands for ὁ δίκαιος, is quite unusual, although it also occurs at Lagoudera in the scene of the Nativity.⁶⁸ In his right hand, he holds his offering of two white doves, which are placed against a yellow-ochre square outlined in red—a peculiar detail which must be a misunderstanding of the birdcage he occasionally holds, as at Spas Neredica⁶⁹ or the Panagia Koubelidike in Kastoria (unpublished). He has short, gray hair combed back from his face with two small curls over his forehead, and a short, rounded gray beard. He wears a gray-blue tunic and a light red mantle which is drawn forward over both shoulders and hangs vertically down the chest, leaving the tunic exposed; pulled sling-like around his right arm, it leaves the right hand free while the left hand is wrapped in its folds.

⁶⁶ See color analysis, Appendix I, p. 330 and Chart B.16.

⁶⁷ The right half of the step as well as the lower right corner of the panel are restored.

⁶⁸ A. H. S. Megaw and A. Stylianou, *Cyprus. Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes* (New York, 1963), pl. xvii.

⁶⁹ V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), fig. 101.

It is elaborately modeled with both white wash and vivid surface highlights in rapidly sketched clusters of V's, hatchings, and repeated contour lines, yet fails to define clearly the underlying structure of the body. Curiously, his feet have been omitted, a lapse which occurs also on the figure of the prophetess Anna, as well as on other figures in this series of frescoes.

At the extreme right, Anna stands looking upward, her right arm raised high above her head in the gesture of prophecy. She holds an open scroll, on which only the last line of her prophecy is preserved: [τούτο τὸ βρέφος οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν] ἐστερεος(εν), "this Child created heaven and earth."⁷⁰ Her gaunt face, which has been exposed from behind the supporting rib, is rather abraded. She is dressed in a dark olive green mantle and a long-sleeved bright ochre tunic, which falls in straight tubular folds, the latter drawn in red-brown and shaded with thinly applied, red-brown wash.

Rising vertically at either side of the panel are fragments of two tower-like buildings. The one behind Joseph, which is preserved up to a saw-tooth molding, is light olive green, shaded dark at the left and white at the right. Piercing its wall are two narrow, slit windows, the black openings lined on three sides with white. Of the building at the right, which was red, only a small bit of wall is visible behind the rib.

The *Baptism* (fig. 24) is preserved in poor condition on two separate fragments to a height of 1.85 m. The upper fragment includes the right third of the face and cruciform halo of Christ, and the head, arms, and hands of John the Baptist, who is partially hidden behind the supporting rib. The torso of Christ is lost, but his legs are preserved on the lower fragment, as are the lower half of the river, parts of both river-banks, and the head and shoulders of the personification of the river Jordan. The figures of John and Christ are badly abraded.

⁷⁰ Dionysius of Fourna, 'Ἐρμηνεία τῆς Ιωγραφικῆς τέχνης, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909) prescribes this version of the text for Anna's scroll (p. 274) as well as the variant ἐδημιούργησε (p. 87); hereafter cited as 'Ἐρμηνεία.'

Christ stands in a frontal pose, his legs together, his head inclined toward the Baptist who is above Him to the left, in the normal arrangement. The Baptist stands on the bank of the river, his right hand resting on Christ's head, the left raised above it, palm out, gesturing emphatically toward what was presumably a segment of heaven and the descending dove in the lost area of the panel above. With his head thrown back, he gazes upward in an emotion-filled glance. Although most of his body is blocked by the rib, his arms, two toes, and part of his head are visible, while his shoulders and left leg have been partially exposed from beneath the rib. He is nimbed and has the usual unruly, dark brown hair and scraggly beard, outlined in black and falling in six irregular strands. His knee-length goatskin tunic has long sleeves, and is dark olive brown with tufts of fur in black.

In the lower left corner of the river a nude, dark-skinned figure—the personification of the river Jordan—empties the urn, which was held in the crook of his lost right arm, into the river; the water issuing forth is indicated by a series of broken lines. He looks up toward Christ, his face in profile, his left hand raised in a wooden gesture of acclamation. The river is gray,⁷¹ rippled with undulating light gray bands which stop abruptly along the edge of the figure. Numerous identical fish, painted alternately red and black, are arranged head to tail in rows as if swimming upstream;⁷² they are placed on top of the water so that all sense of transparency and lively movement is denied. The river banks are defined on each side by a wide band with an inner border of white lines and an outer line of ground color; the band on the left is gray, that on the right, gray over red.⁷³ Their smooth, regular contours stand in sharp contrast to the jagged rocky outline often favored in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Growing along the bank of the right hillside are two flowering plants on leafy stalks identical to

⁷¹ See color analysis, Appendix I, p. 330 and Chart B.1.

⁷² Fifteen fish, either entire or in part, are preserved.

⁷³ See color analysis, Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart B.3 (dark pink).

those in the Nativity. The hillside at the left is light olive brown, that at the right, light red.^{73a}

Because of the fragmentary state of the fresco and the loss of so many ancillary features, its iconographic type can no longer be exactly established. Nevertheless, there are a few datable features. The first is the fur tunic with sleeves worn by John the Baptist. This is a costume worn by the Baptist throughout the twelfth century, but its use persists only until about the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁷⁴ After that, it is worn only rarely, and then always covered by a mantle.⁷⁵ While the Baptist's emotion-filled gaze is not a new motif, its combination with the dramatic gesture of his raised hand places the feature in this same period, for the same combination occurs in a group of examples concentrated in the last decade of the twelfth and first decades of the thirteenth century.⁷⁶ What is inter-

^{73a} *Ibid.*, p. 331 and Chart B.2 (pink).

⁷⁴ A few examples are: Cappella Palatina (Demus, *Mosaics*, pl. 19A); Bačkovo (Grabar, *Peinture ... Bulgarie*, figs. 11 and 16); Yedilar Cave at Latmos (Wulff, *Latmos* [note 62 *supra*], pl. VIII, 2); Christ Antiphonites (described but not illustrated by Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, 157); Mavriotissa, Kastoria (Pelekanides, *Kαστορία*, I, pl. 84); Kars Kilise (1212) (Restle, *Wandmalerei* [note 46 *supra*], III, fig. 472). I am grateful to Dr. Annemarie Weyl Carr for communicating to me her conclusions on this motif, which was studied in detail in her unpublished doctoral dissertation (*The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament: Studies toward the Reattribution of Chicago, University Library*, MS 965 [The University of Michigan, Ph.d., 1973], 189).

⁷⁵ An exception occurs in Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 543 (H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* [Paris, 1929], pl. cxxiii), a manuscript of the fourteenth century which has frequently been dated to the twelfth century (cf. V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* [Turin, 1967], 370 and 415 note 53). While previous opinion has assumed a twelfth-century model for the manuscript, George Galavaris (*The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* [Princeton, 1969], 180–92) has recently proposed that "this manuscript may be based directly on a tenth-century archetype."

⁷⁶ E.g., Christ Antiphonites (ca. 1200; see note 74 *supra*); Paul Cave, Latmos (end of twelfth century) (Wulff, *Latmos*, pl. iv, 3); Elmali Kilise (end of twelfth century) and Karanlık Kilise (end of twelfth to thirteenth century)

esting in the light of the relatively large number of parallels around the turn of the century is that this particular combination of gestures did not continue further into the thirteenth century as might be expected. And it is its absence in most thirteenth-century art that permits us to date it to the period around the year 1200. Ultimately, it recurs in the fourteenth century, at which time it gains real currency. The last element of interest for dating is perhaps the most conspicuous detail of the scene—the fish. This is a genre element which is extremely rare until the first decade of the thirteenth century when it appears in a number of manuscripts.⁷⁷ Only toward the middle of the century does it become a traditional element of the Baptism scene.

Although there are three twelfth-century Baptism scenes surviving in Cyprus—at Perachorio,⁷⁸ at Lagoudera,⁷⁹ and at Christ Antiphonites⁸⁰—only the latter provides a parallel to Monagri. While differing in such details as Christ's cross-legged stance and the candlestick in the river (details found also at Lagoudera), the figure of the Baptist is virtually identical in the stance, the

(Restle, *Wandmalerei*, II, figs. 174, 230); the late dating of these paintings by Restle and others is not undisputed; for the dating to the eleventh century, see G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1925–42), text vol. II, 2, pp. 421–23, and N. Thierry, "Les peintures de Cappadoce de la fin de l'Iconoclasme à l'Invasion turque (843–1082)," *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 1966–67 (1–2), 23–27. The motif also occurs in two early thirteenth-century manuscripts, London, Brit. Mus. Harley 1810 and Berlin quarto 66 (before 1219).

⁷⁷ Several examples are: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Syriac 355 (before 1220) (H. Omont, "Peintures d'un évangéliare syriaque du XII^e ou XIII^e siècle," *MonPiot*, 19 [1911], pl. xvi); Rome, Bibl. Vat. Syriac 559 (before 1220) (G. de Jerphanion, *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* [Vatican City, 1940], pl. vii); London, Brit. Mus. Harley 1810; fish also occur in the frescoes at Kars Kilise (1212) (see note 74 *supra*).

⁷⁸ Megaw-Hawkins, "Perachorio" (note 27 *supra*), 321–23 and fig. 35; the scene is too fragmentary, with only three angels and part of the figure of Christ preserved, to be useful for our purposes.

⁷⁹ Stylianou, Λαγουδέρα (note 21 *supra*), pl. 149 (upper half).

⁸⁰ See note 74 *supra*.

gestures, and the long-sleeved fur tunic. Comparable also are the smoothly undulating banks of the Jordan, which, though less rigidly stylized than those at Monagri, are equally different from the jagged, rocky outline at Lagoudera. Conspicuously absent in both Lagoudera and Antiphonites are the fish.

The last scene on the south vault is the *Transfiguration* (fig. 25), of which only the lower right corner is preserved, in poor condition.⁸¹ Bits of two figures survive: the right leg and sandaled foot of the right-hand apostle (James), who wears a light red tunic and is either stepping down the hillside or is half kneeling; and the left foot of the second apostle (John), who must have sprawled on the ground below the central hill on which Christ was standing. The background consists of a lower horizontal band which must originally have been green but now appears muddy black.⁸² Above this is a zone of gray-brown ground, its undulating contour defined by a band of white and brown, which rises at the right to form a hillock. The mountainous background above is indistinct; what was probably olive green ground is now eroded to the underpaint. Except for the conventionalized rocky features of the mountain top at the right, outlined in white against dark brown, no other details are decipherable.

What is notable here is that the lower border of the scene had to be raised *ca.* 40 cm. higher than those of the other compositions on the vault in order to accommodate the figure of the Evangelist on the spandrel below, for which there was otherwise insufficient space. It appears that this accommodation was an afterthought, for the original rendering of unpainted plaster extends down nearly to the level of the indentation of the wall, where it is exposed in the lower right corner by the loss of the upper layer of plaster. When it was subsequently realized that the Evangelist had to be fitted in, a second wiping was made,

⁸¹ The fragment is 70.4 by 46.2 cm.

⁸² The ground of the *Presentation* is also eroded away to muddy black, but traces of green may be detected. The dark patches in this zone, visible in the photograph, are restoration. For color analysis, see Appendix I, p. 330 and Chart B.4.

extending down only to the present red border.⁸³ Because the ledge along the south wall peters out at this end, just over the crown of the arch of the southwest recess, there was adequate space for the Evangelist.

Turning to the north vault, we find the compositions even more fragmentary than those on the south (figs. 26, 27). The *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 28) on the west panel includes only the lower parts of three figures on the left who are lined up on a zone of green ground, moving to the right toward the missing sepulcher.⁸⁴ The figure on the right is Christ, whose identity is confirmed by the bit of His blue himation and purple chiton, the latter highlighted in ochre simulating chrysographia. Following Him are two apostles: the left one wears a light red mantle and grey tunic; the right figure is dressed in a warm yellow mantle and a light red tunic. The garments are lavishly highlighted in white, and all three figures wear sandals.⁸⁵ The apostles who accompany Christ are probably Thomas and Peter,⁸⁶ whom we see as His only companions in the earlier frescoes at St. Nicholas tis Stegis⁸⁷ and Asinou.⁸⁸ The reduction in the number of apostles accompanying Christ may mark a return to the earlier iconographic tradition of Kakopetria and Asinou, but it is more likely the result of the narrow format of

⁸³ Several layers of plaster make this border a rather confused area. One fact I cannot satisfactorily explain is that the border, which is perfectly preserved on the left, disappears at the right, where indeed, it appears never to have been painted.

⁸⁴ The dimensions of the lower fragment are 84.6 by 57.3 cm. There is a second fragment (15.5 cm. high) near the top of the vault, but there are no identifiable features: at the left is a patch of blue-black ground, at the right a curving area of pink outlined with black X's along its curving side.

⁸⁵ The feet of the left-hand apostle, which are barely visible in outline, do not show in the photograph.

⁸⁶ Millet, *Recherches* (note 57 *supra*), 237. The apostle next to Christ can probably be identified as Peter because he wears the same yellow himation that Peter wears in the Pentecost. Because this color is not often used in the limited palette at Monagri, its association with Peter seems justified.

⁸⁷ Stylianou, *Painted Churches* (note 27 *supra*), fig. 9.

⁸⁸ Sacopoulo, *Asinou* (note 27 *supra*), pl. vi.

the vault panel, which required the painter to eliminate all but the most important figures. A similar kind of simplification occurs later in the church of the Panagia at Moutoullas,⁸⁹ where the small format of the panel excludes both the porter lifting the tombstone and the usual group of onlookers.

The *Entry to Jerusalem* (figs. 26, 29) is preserved on two fragments. The smaller one (48 by 18 cm.), which is partly hidden beneath the rib at the crown of the vault, depicts a bit of the crenellated wall of the city of Jerusalem surrounding a number of buildings within, of which only a triangular pediment and a roof-line receding diagonally can be made out. The lower fragment (0.70 by 1.01 m.) includes the lower right corner of the scene in which two children (heads missing) step forward and, with nearly identical gestures, lay tunics on the ground before the approaching donkey, of which only a gray hoof survives. Numerous gray palm branches of distinctive form are strewn over the green ground. The two children wear knee-length black boots and short tunics painted brilliant scarlet and olive green respectively; the two tunics on the ground are the same colors. Behind them at the right is the lower half of an adult figure, also wearing a long scarlet tunic⁹⁰ and a bright blue mantle, who must be one of the citizens of Jerusalem standing before the gates of the city to welcome Christ. Of the apostles accompanying Christ, we have only the ill-drawn toes of one foot, which appear as three finger-like projections painted yellow-ochre and outlined in black, at the left of the fragment.

The same scene is preserved in both Kalopanayiotis⁹¹ and Moutoullas.⁹² The former provides the closer parallel to that at Monagri, in that there are two children

⁸⁹ A. Papageorghiou, Ιδιάλουσαι βυζαντινοί τοιχογραφίαι τού XIII αιώνος ἐν Κύπρῳ, Πρακτικά τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦ Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου ('Εταιρεία Κυπριακῶν Σπουδῶν) (Nicosia, 1972), pl. xxviii, 1. Whether more than two apostles accompanied Christ is uncertain, owing to the loss of the left part of the panel, but it seems unlikely.

⁹⁰ See color analysis, Appendix I, p. 330 and Chart B. 11.

⁹¹ Megaw-Stylianou, *Byz. Mosaics and Frescoes* (note 68 *supra*), pls. xix, xxi.

⁹² Soteriou, *Mημεῖα*, pl. 89 b.

spreading their tunics on the ground before Christ, whereas at Moutoullas there is only one; further, the city of Jerusalem has a similar crenellated wall enclosing buildings, while at Moutoullas the city is reduced to such geometric abstraction that the architectural forms are barely recognizable. Worthy of note also is the close resemblance of the palm branches at Monagri to the bunches of dates thrown down from the tree at Kalopanayiotis. A picturesque detail omitted at Monagri but found in both thirteenth-century frescoes are the richly embroidered hemlines of the garments of the people of Jerusalem.

The *Crucifixion* (figs. 31, 32) is preserved on two widely separated fragments which give its full height of 2.56 m. On the top fragment (43.5 by 95 cm.) the upper arm of the cross, painted dark brown, is surmounted by the badly eroded titulus (mainly ochre underpaint), with the usual inscription in thin white letters: δ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης, "the king of glory." In the corners flanking the cross were two mourning angels, probably in half-figure. The angel on the left is partially preserved, though in poor condition, with severe flaking over the face, tunic, and mantle. He wears a pink tunic with a single black clavus over the right shoulder and a light olive green mantle, one end of which billows out behind in a conventional motif. His short, brown hair is tied at the back with a white fillet. He flies away to the left but turns his head back toward the cross, gazing outward, without agitation or emotion; his face is calm and his bare hand is simply held before the chest.⁹³ Extended behind him is his left wing, with brown primary feathers and black inner feathers, the latter defined by alternating strokes of white and dark gray. Of the corresponding angel at the right, only the white wing tip is preserved. Below the titulus on the left of the cross is the moon, a small white disk with eight double white lines radiating from it; within it is a profile face drawn in black. Curiously, the sun disk, which should be at the right, appears to have been omitted.

⁹³ The angels in the Crucifixion at Studenica (1209) may be cited for comparison (S. Mandić, *The Virgin's Church at Studenica* [Belgrade, 1966], figs. 4, 14).

On the bottom fragment (85.5 by 93 cm.) is the lower third of the figure of the Virgin, standing at the left. She is dressed in the usual bright blue tunic, purple maphorion, and red slippers; of the figure of St. John at the right, only a bit of the hem of a gray tunic and bright red mantle is preserved. Between them the lower part of the cross is set in the triple mound of Golgotha, but the figure of Christ is missing except for his right foot fastened to the suppedaneum with a large black nail from which rivulets of blood stream down the cross. The mound of Golgotha is drawn as three hillocks: the lowest one is pale olive green, its smooth contour defined by a thick band of white outlined in black; the two larger mounds are darker olive green shading to brown, their contours drawn in white in the conventionalized design indicating rocks. The detail of the skull is omitted. Extending the full height of the lower fragment is a badly deteriorated zone of green ground, and behind the figures are the lower parts of what presumably were tall narrow buildings, like those in the *Presentation*, which served to frame the composition and fill the background. That on the left is a striking light pink, shaded white at the right, while that at the right is the usual light olive green, also shaded white along the edge near the cross.

The final composition at the east end of the naos is the *Anastasis* (fig. 34), of which only the lower right corner is preserved on a fragment 45.8 by 68.5 cm.⁹⁴ Little survives except the black chasm of Hell, in which lie scattered the keys, bolts, and broken locks of its gates, all drawn in white. The right edge of one door, painted ochre, is preserved at the left. At the right, sloping diagonally upward from right to left, is a slab of mottled pink marble, presumably the sarcophagus in which David and Solomon are traditionally depicted. It is veined with wide red and thin brown lines, and is banded along the lower edge with a pink border within white lines.

The cycle continues on the vaults of the bema, with the Ascension placed on the north side and the Pentecost on the south. The *Ascension* (fig. 33) is preserved to its full width of 1.72 m., but only the lower

⁹⁴ The lower right corner of the fragment is restored.

59 cm. survive. The Virgin stands in the center on a disproportionately large footstool, flanked on either side by three standing figures. Those next to her must be archangels, as they are distinguished by red boots (of which only faint traces are preserved), while the remaining four are apostles. Standing frontally, the Virgin wears her usual bright blue tunic and red slippers, the latter decorated across the toe with a dotted circle below a double white line; her maphorion is not preserved. The oval footstool is painted deep purple and decorated with a diaper pattern consisting of double scarlet lines studded with pearls that enclose an inner diamond drawn in pale yellow; it is seen from above and is absolutely flat.

Lined up side by side, the figures are compressed into the narrow format with almost no overlapping or sense of depth. Except for the archangels, who stand frontally, the others turn slightly toward the Virgin. Their poses are static, despite the bit of rippling drapery on the tunic of the second figure from the right. All are dressed in chitons and himatia and the colors, described from left to right, are as follows: (1) light red mantle over eroded olive green tunic; (2) warm ochre mantle over light red tunic; (3) gray tunic, mantle missing; (4) dark olive green mantle over red tunic; (5) light red mantle and gray tunic; (6) same as (4). Two immediately noticeable features of the colors here are the predominance of light red and the restrained use of the white highlights that elsewhere in the church are so striking. Evidence of a second row of apostles consists of a zone of warm brown ground between the Virgin and the angel on the right, which may have belonged to a garment.

Although little is preserved of the Monagri scene, one may assume that it resembled the east half of the Ascension at Kalopanayiotis (unpublished) rather than the normal late-twelfth-century type of composition. Both are balanced, symmetrical scenes in which the Virgin stands frontally between two archangels in a formal iconic pose, flanked by apostles (three at Kalopanayiotis) left and right, who stand calmly, their hands raised in quiet gestures. While the apostles at Kalopanayiotis are arranged in less

cramped and more varied positions than those at Monagri, the significant common elements are not simply the symmetrical arrangement of the figures around the central, frontal Virgin, but specifically the lack of vigorous movement and the absence of agitated fluttering drapery which places them in sharp contrast to the dynamic and emotionally charged compositions so characteristic of the last quarter of the twelfth century. At Perachorio,⁹⁵ at Antiphonites (unpublished), and to a lesser degree at Lagoudera,⁹⁶ where the agitation is beginning to subside, the apostles twist and turn in contorted poses, their arms raised in exaggerated theatrical gestures, their garments fluttering in billowing, mannered folds. Except for the ripple of drapery on the figure of the Monagri apostle mentioned above, the "Baroque" phase of twelfth-century painting is barely perceptible in either of these compositions, which tend, rather, to revert to the more formal aspect of earlier Comnenian art.⁹⁷ Furthermore, the disposition of the Ascension at Monagri on only one half of the vault confirms this break with the remarkably consistent program of the twelfth century in Cyprus, where virtually without exception, the entire vault of the bema was devoted to the tripartite composition of the Ascension (e.g., at Asinou, Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Perachorio, Neophytos [bema, east bay, vault],⁹⁸ Lagoudera,

⁹⁵ Megaw-Hawkins, "Perachorio," figs. 38–39.

⁹⁶ Stylianou, Λαγούδερα, fig. 151.

⁹⁷ The only precedent in Cyprus for this type of Ascension occurs in the recently uncovered eleventh-century frescoes at St. Nicholas tis Stegis. Here the scene is restricted to the north half of the bema vault and we have the frontal Virgin flanked first by archangels and then by apostles, who stand looking up, but in undramatic poses.

⁹⁸ Because of the irregular plan of the bema of the Encleistra at St. Neophytos, it could be argued that, strictly speaking, the vault of the east bay of the bema is equivalent to the apse conch rather than to the bema vault (see C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 20 [1966], figs. 61–65 and fig. D [plan]). Nevertheless, the significant point here is that the usual tripartite composition prevails and occupies the entire vault surface. The Ascension is repeated on the flat vault of the naos (*ca.* 1200) (*ibid.*, figs. 18–21).

and Christ Antiphonites). The division of the vault at Monagri was undoubtedly due in part to the need of accommodating the twelfth feast picture, although adequate space would have been available on the west wall if it had been subdivided; indeed, such an arrangement would have avoided so disproportionately large a composition as the Koimesis.⁹⁹

The *Pentecost* (figs. 35–39, and color fig. D) is preserved to its full width of 1.61 m. on a fragment 1.89 m. high.¹⁰⁰ Somewhat over half the composition remains, if one assumes that it extended down to the indentation of the wall; fortunately, it includes the major part of the figural area, which, however, is severely damaged. A large area of loss occurs around the tie beam at the right and cuts across the panel to the left border in a wide horizontal band. The left half of the loss has been restored as have certain damaged areas in the lower left corner.¹⁰¹ The uppermost figures are in good condition, but the surface paint deteriorates progressively over the lower part of the vault, so that both the faces and the garments of the lower three apostles at the left are either entirely lost or badly eroded. The paint on the background architecture has suffered from moisture seepage, and the top of the left building and much of the scarlet cloth draped over both buildings are restored.

The twelve apostles are seated on a high-backed, semicircular bench, with Peter and

⁹⁹ This common arrangement of the west wall is found at Asinou: Sacopulo, *Asinou*, pls. VII, IX, x.a.

¹⁰⁰ Reproduced by Winfield, "Reports on Monagri" (note 10 *supra*), fig. 6.

¹⁰¹ The following areas are restoration: the legs of Paul from below the knees to his ankles; the left thigh and a bit of the mantle hanging below the arm of John; Mark's chest, the mantle over his chest, his left arm and hand, and the lower half of the codex he holds; part of the halo, all the tunic, and a bit of the mantle wrapped around the waist of Simon; most of the halo of Bartholomew. In the lower left corner, where the surface of the fresco was badly eroded, the following areas have been touched up: the highlighting and much of the mantle of Bartholomew, except for that hanging over the left arm and knee; most of the tunic including the right arm and sleeve of the lowest left apostle (the mantle is not restored).

Paul in the center, to the right and left respectively. Each figure is identified by a single letter over his head.¹⁰² Paul and the four Evangelists hold codices, while Peter and the youthful apostle at the lower right (Thomas or Philip) hold scrolls. Peter and Paul turn toward each other as if in dialogue, their heads raised slightly, each gesticulating with his right hand. The other apostles stare out with expressionless faces, their hands raised in a variety of wooden gestures. Light red dominates the color scheme of the garments, with every apostle wearing it either as his tunic or himation; gray is used alternately for the tunics, and olive green for the himatia. Only Paul and Peter are distinguished from the others by the colors of their garments (color fig. D), though each wears a red garment: Paul's tunic is blue-gray, while Peter is conspicuous in his pale ochre mantle, a color not frequently used by this painter. Black outlines are employed to define both the contours of the figure and the folds of the drapery.

Seated at the center left, Paul holds in his left hand a book with green pages and a scarlet cover decorated with an untidily drawn white cross in the center and teardrops at the corners. He wears a tunic with a single black clavus over the right shoulder, and has sparse brown hair with a single lock combed over his prominent forehead and a medium-length pointed beard, which is highlighted with blue as well as black lines.¹⁰³ Below him is John ($\bar{I}\bar{\omega}$) depicted as an elderly man (fig. 36). He has a high forehead, receding short white hair with a single tuft at the top, a long face, and a medium-length pointed beard. He holds a book with a jewelled ochre cover and red pages in the crook of his left arm, which is wrapped in his mantle, and steadies it with his right. His halo was struck twice, the second time slightly higher. Below him is Mark (\bar{M}) with short, curly brown hair, combed in two lobes over the forehead, and a short brown beard with hair lines in blue. He holds a jewelled ochre book in his left hand (book and hand restored), and like

¹⁰² The letter for Paul has either flaked off or was omitted.

¹⁰³ Blue highlights are also used for Mark's beard in the evangelist panel.

John may have balanced it with his right, now lost. Simon (C), whose face is badly damaged, is distinguished by his prominent forehead and receding brown hair with a single lock combed forward; his brown beard, which should be short but is incorrectly restored, is accented with ochre rather than blue hair lines. His head is tilted slightly upward and his left hand is raised in front of his chest, palm out. Little survives of the figure of Bartholomew (B) except his left hand extended out to his left, palm up, and the mantle hanging over his left arm and leg. The lowest apostle, who by his youth is either Thomas or Philip, is beardless and had shortish brown hair accented with ochre. The figure is badly damaged and only his hands are relatively well preserved; the left is extended before him in a gesture repeating Bartholomew's and the right, which has been drawn twice, is held before his chest, palm in.

Heading the right-hand group of apostles is Peter (Π), depicted with his usual white hair and short beard, the thin white hair lines sharply delineated in white (fig. 37 and color fig. D). In his left hand he holds a scroll, while with the right he points upward toward the *Hetoimasia* in the mandorla above. A single black clavus is visible on the right shoulder of his tunic. His mantle is distinguished not only by its color but also by the elaborate arrangement of its folds. It is wrapped around his waist, up behind his right shoulder, reappearing over his left, with a thick rope-like fold hanging over his left hand. Between his knees appears a kind of knotted fold-motif reminiscent of earlier twelfth-century conventions. Next to him is the exceptionally well-preserved figure of Matthew (Μ), who has short, straight, gray hair combed in two lobes over the forehead and a full beard which comes to a point at the neckline of his tunic (fig. 39). In his left hand he holds a book, mostly hidden behind Luke's halo, which he steadies with his right, his elbow overlapping Peter's knee. Prominently displayed on the sleeve of his himation are some distinctive "herringbone" highlights. Below him is Luke (Δ), who has short brown hair and a sparse beard, but whose face is mostly destroyed. Next to him is Andrew

(Α), whose head appears almost a caricature, so schematically is his unruly hair drawn, with single strokes of dark brown and white defining the short, wild locks. The damage over his face, and the restoration of his right eye give him an uncharacteristic bright-eyed and alert expression. Nothing remains of James (Ι) except the upper rim of his halo. Of the youthful apostle below him, preserved on a separate fragment, there is only part of his chest, his left arm, and the scroll he holds in his left hand. Determined by a process of elimination, he must be either Thomas or Philip.

The apostles are seated on a brown bench with a curving panelled back set with colored stones, but the structure is not coherently drawn, and it is not clear where the back ends and the seat begins. It is divided into five levels, two panelled (one at the top and one below Paul's feet), and three diapered. Within the semicircular opening of the bench, against an eroded green ground, are three standing figures symbolizing the "Phylai" and "Glossai," who represent the "devout men out of every nation under heaven," as described in the Acts of the Apostles (2:5). From the waist down the figures are missing and there are no identifying inscriptions (fig. 38).

In the center, standing frontally, is a royal figure dressed in imperial vestments, holding in his right hand a long, red scepter studded with pearls. The entire figure is badly eroded. He wears an oblong crown outlined with pearls, enriched with short pendilia terminating in three large drops, and further decorated along the upper rim with three sprays of three large drops each. He is beardless, has short brown hair, and wears a long-sleeved, dark red tunic and a jewelled loros, which is edged at the neck and shoulders with pearls. Flanking him are two beardless, short-haired, brown-skinned figures, each wearing a gray toga that leaves exposed his right shoulder and exaggeratedly long arm. The figure at the left, who is seen in profile, looks upward toward the apostles to whom he points with his index finger, his hand raised above his head. The figure at the right stands almost frontally, raising his right arm above his head, palm out. The representation of foreign "peoples" or

"races" as such dark-skinned, toga-clad figures is not unusual, and they are found in a number of Pentecost scenes in various media, as is the figure of the king.¹⁰⁴

There appears to have been no canonical number for the "peoples and tongues," since a wide variation occurs, ranging from the sixteen figures depicted at Hosios Loukas and San Marco to the two figures in the Cappella Palatina, and in many instances, especially in manuscript illumination, they are omitted entirely. Limitation of space is the most obvious factor governing the number of attendants represented. In the more complete versions, the "nations" are commonly divided into two facing groups, but three (Hagioi Anargyroi) and even four (Hosios Loukas) groups occasionally occur. On the other hand, two, three, or four figures do occur, although not frequently, in monumental art.¹⁰⁵ Where a single figure is represented, it is invariably the personification of Kosmos, who is shown as a crowned king, seated frontally and holding in his lap, or on a scarf, the twelve apostolic commissions to the peoples of the world.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Such toga-clad figures are found at the Mavriotissa, Kastoria (N. Moutsopoulos, Καστορία. Παναγία Ἡ Μαυριώτισσα [Athens, 1967], fig. 62) and St. Clement, Ohrid (G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, III [Paris, 1962], pl. 11,1); they are accompanied by a crowned royal figure in Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 550 (Omont, *Miniatures* [note 75 *supra*], pl. cix), on a Sinai icon (G. and M. Soteriou, 'Εικόνες τῆς μονῆς Σινᾶ, I [Athens, 1956], fig. 94), and on an enamel plaque on the Pala d'Oro (H. Hahnloser, *Il tesoro di San Marco*. I, *La Pala d'Oro* [Florence, 1965], pl. xxxiii, 62); kings are present among the groups of "peoples and tongues" at Tokali Kilise, New Church (Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* [note 76, *supra*], Album II, pl. 82), and at Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria (Pelekanides, Καστορία [note 62 *supra*], pl. 36); but none are shown in the central, frontal pose like the figure at Monagri.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., Cappella Palatina, two figures; Mavriotissa, three figures; Ziča, four figures; such reduced numbers are more commonly found in manuscript illuminations and icon painting.

¹⁰⁶ On this subject, see the following: A. Muñoz, *L'art byzantin à l'exposition de Grottaferrata* (Rome, 1906), 51ff.; K. Kunstle, *Ikoneographie der Christlichen Kunst*, I (Freiburg, 1928), 519; E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana* (Verona, 1929), 376; H. Buchthal, "A Miniature of the Pentecost from a

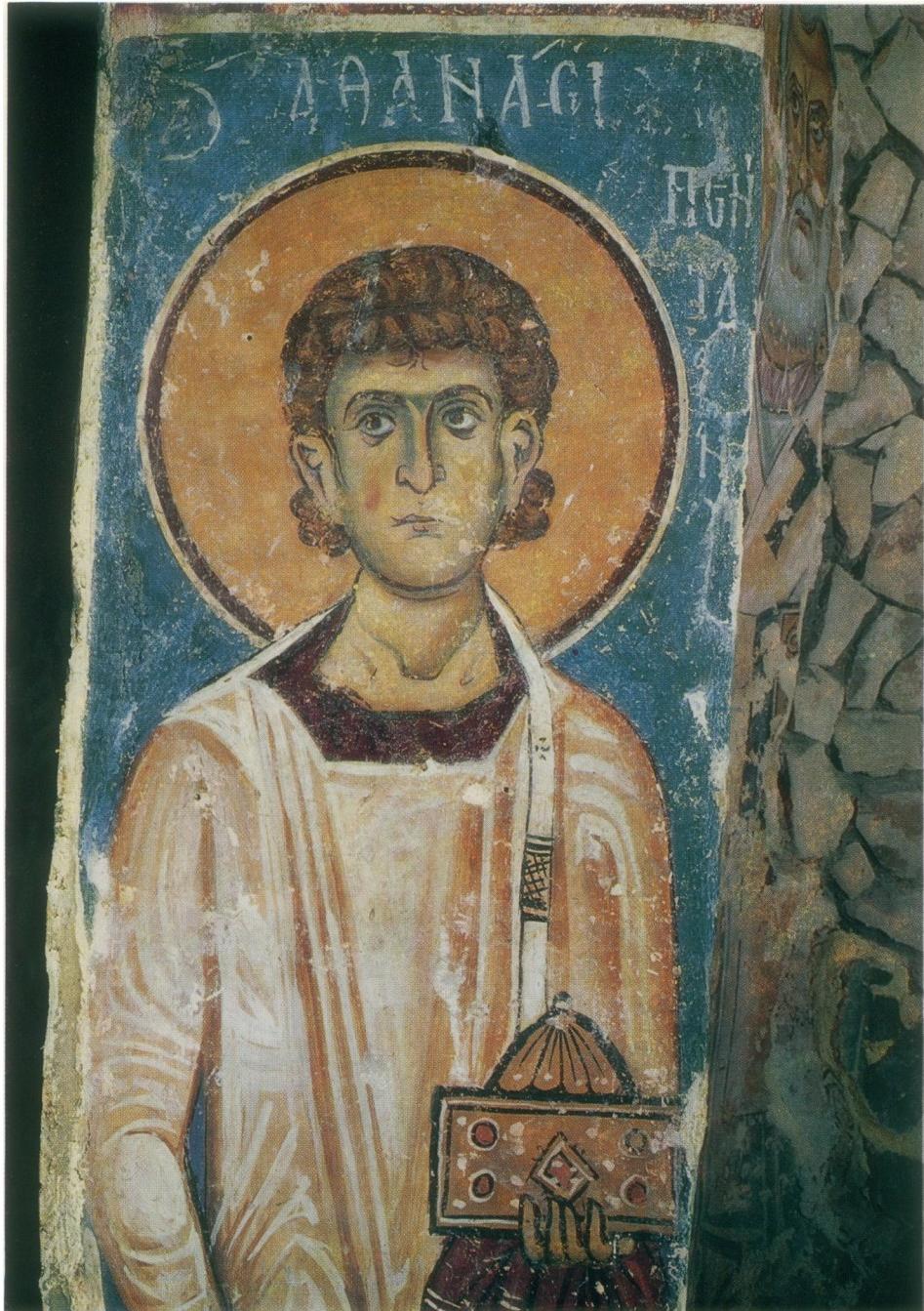
The central, frontal image of the king at Monagri is, in formal terms, quite similar to the hieratic pose of the Kosmos, and it may represent a confusion of the two iconographic traditions. On the other hand, the Kosmos is not usually accompanied by other figures, and it generally belongs to a later iconographic development, appearing only sporadically before the fourteenth century but predominating thereafter.¹⁰⁷

Above the apostles is a fragmentary Hetoimasia enclosed in a scalloped mandorla from which issue the twelve tongues of fire, descending on long, white beams of light to the halo of each apostle. The mandorla consisted of three colors: a dark blue inner oval, a cream-colored area decorated with three red lines curving upward, and an outer scalloped border in white.¹⁰⁸ Of the

Lectionary in Syriac," *JRAS* (1939), 614; A. Grabar, "Le schéma iconographique de la Pentecôte," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 2 (1928), 223ff.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., St. Nicholas tis Stegis (fourteenth-century frescoes) (A. Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus* [Nicosia, 1965], pl. viii, 1); Sv. Nikita, Cučer (Millet, *Peinture du moyen âge*, III, pl. 51,4); and Mt. Athos, the monasteries of Protaton, Lavra, and St. Paul, Chapel of St. George (G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Άθος* [Paris, 1927], pls. 13,3 118,2, 188,1).

¹⁰⁸ The scalloped border for mandorlas (and segments of heaven) appears to be peculiar to Cypriot art. It first occurs in the eleventh-century frescoes at St. Nicholas tis Stegis (in the recently uncovered early Ascension in the bema), and thereafter it appears at Asinou (1105/6, Ascension, Pentecost, and Dormition; Sacopoulo, *Asinou*, pls. xviii, xvi, x), at Trikomo (Ascension: Soteriou, Μνημεῖα, pl. 99a), at Lagoudera (Annunciation: Stylianou, Λαγούδερα, pl. 146), at Christ Antiphonites (Baptism and Transfiguration: unpublished), and at St. Neophytos (ca. 1200, Ascension and Agony in the Garden: Mango-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos," figs. 20, 21, 29); in the thirteenth century, it appears not only at Monagri, but also at Kalopanayiotis (Ascension: Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. xxix) and Moutoulas (Koimesis: Soteriou, Μνημεῖα, pl. 89). In discussing this ornament in the Asinou frescoes, Sacopoulo traces it to Cappadocian painting (e.g., Chapel 6, Göreme and St. Barbara, Soğanlı), where she believes the motif originated: "la bordure dentelée reste un ornement distinctif de l'art anatolien, une marque de fabrication cappadocienne" (*Asinou*, pp. 43 note 3, 57 note 1, 61 note 1, and esp. 62–63). Whether or not the motif was imported from



A. Monagri, Panagia Amasgou, Diaconicon. St. Athanasios Pentaskinos



B. South Vault, East Half. The Nativity: Joseph and the Bathing of the Child



C. South Vault, East Half. The Presentation of Christ:
the Virgin, Simeon, and the Christ Child



E. West Wall. The Koimesis: Mourning Apostles



D. Bema, South Vault. The Pentecost: SS. Paul and Peter

Monagri, Panagia Amasgou

throne, only the lower part, which is painted scarlet, and its dark red border with pearls are preserved.

Framing the composition at the left and right are tall tower-like buildings preserved to the saw-tooth cornice, which is composed of alternating strokes of black and white. That on the left is light ochre, shaded dark ochre at the left and white at the right; the right-hand building is pink, shaded light red and white. Both buildings are decorated below the cornice with a kind of diamond motif, drawn in thick white and black lines, and the end of a scarlet cloth that was draped over the roofline hangs down the side.

The final scene of the Festival cycle is the *Koimesis* (figs. 40–43 and color fig. E), a monumental composition once filling the entire west wall of the church above the doorway, an area *ca.* 3.05 m. high and 3.765 m. wide.¹⁰⁹ It is preserved on two large fragments. The smaller one (1.205 by 1.70 m.) includes the Virgin lying on the bier, one archangel standing centrally behind the bier, the fragment of a second standing at the head of the bier, and the head of a single apostle behind the bier near its foot. The larger fragment (1.98 by 1.05 m.) includes parts of nine apostles standing at the foot of the bier, two bishops, and three flying angels approaching from the right. The condition of the fresco is uneven. What remains of the Virgin's figure, the bier, and the three flying angels is well preserved though the surface is somewhat eroded, while the archangel behind the bier and most of the apostles at the right are in a poor state with much of the surface paint having flaked away, leaving the underdrawing exposed. The heads and much of the garments of the apostles on the far right are preserved only in underdrawing.

The composition was inscribed along the top in white letters, with only part of the right half of the title remaining: [ἡ κοίμη-

Anatolia does not concern us here, for once it appeared in Cyprus, it clearly became a distinctive and strictly local feature of the ornamental vocabulary.

¹⁰⁹ Reproduced by Winfield, "Reports on Monagri" (note 10 *supra*), 260, text fig. A and fig. 7.

σις τῆς ὑπέ]ρ αγίας Θ(εοτό)κου.¹¹⁰ The Virgin lies, with her hands crossed over her chest, on a scarlet mattress decorated along the edge by circles between double white lines (fig. 41). She wears a dark blue tunic with cuffs ornamented with two narrow bands, and a purple maphorion¹¹¹ edged with an ochre line and having crosslets of dots on her shoulders and forearms. The bier is supported right and left by thick upright posts painted ochre, and is covered with a deep red valance bordered in ochre and richly embroidered with two elaborate ochre roundels on either side of a central diamond motif against a diapered ground.¹¹² In front of the bier is a small, bright red footstool seen from above, whose front and sides are painted brown and studded with a double row of pearls.¹¹³

Standing at the head of the bier in the place normally occupied by Peter is an archangel, of which all that remains is the tip of the left wing, the feathers drawn in pink and light brown, the embroidered hem of his chiton, and his left foot. He wore a medium-length dark red tunic with a brown and ochre band along the hem embroidered with a single row of pearls, and bright red boots ornamented by pearls across the toe and around the ankle. He stands on a high zone of well-preserved green ground¹¹⁴ which extends across the width of the panel.

¹¹⁰ The same inscription occurs at Lagoudera in Cyprus and Tokali Kilise, New Church, in Cappadocia (Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, text vol. I, 2, p. 357 and Album II, pl. 83,1).

¹¹¹ For color analysis, see Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart B.9.

¹¹² The roundels consist of narrow pointed leaves drawn in brown, radiating from a central point and enclosed by an inner border of contiguous circles and an outer border of pearls against a black band. The diamond motif is also edged by a pearl-studded black band and has an internal design of four ochre quatrefoils against a red-brown ground. The diaper pattern is outlined in double scarlet lines studded with pearls which enclose an inner diamond design in ochre.

¹¹³ The right side of the footstool and adjoining strip of the bier are restored. For color analysis of red, see Appendix I, p. 330 and Chart B.8.

¹¹⁴ For color analysis, see Appendix I, p. 330 and Chart B.7.

Behind the bier, standing in a frontal pose, is the second archangel, holding a crystal orb in his right hand and a short, scarlet staff in his left, his index finger precisely placed over its top. The orb is white with thick, curving, blue lines to simulate crystal. Painted on it in red is a cross standing above a thick horizontal line with the letters *delta* and *tau* flanking the lower arm.¹¹⁵ The angel's head is missing and the paint on his halo, cloak, and wing has flaked off to the layer of unpainted plaster. He wears a blue-gray tunic with loose sleeves and a jewelled apron-like garment which extends over his shoulders and chest with two vertical bands hanging below the waist. Painted ochre, it has a narrow, brown border studded with pearls and is ornamented with blue and perhaps red stones over the chest. He wears a twisted, red sash around his waist and a bright red mantle pulled over both shoulders and fastened in front below the neck. His only preserved wing has dark brown and black outer feathers, accented with light ochre lines, and light red inner feathers.

The apostles—none of whom is nimbed—were evidently grouped together at the end of the bier, for fragments of ten and possibly eleven are preserved (color fig. E). Behind the bier, next to the angel, is the head of an apostle bent low over the bier, a fold of his pink mantle clasped to his cheek in a gesture of grief. The prominent position behind the bier is normally reserved for John who, because he was entrusted with the care of the Virgin, was given the place of honor nearest her head. However, the identification of this figure as John is unlikely because in the Koimesis he is depicted as an old man, and

¹¹⁵ The meaning of these letters is not clear. They do not correspond to the more common formulae, such as ΙC XC NIKA or ΦXΦΠ (Φῶς Χριστοῦ φάνει πᾶσι, or "Christ's light shines on everyone"). The formula closest to that at Monagri is XΔK, which may stand for Χριστὸς δίκαιος κριτής, "Christ the righteous judge," a reading proposed by Cyril Mango in an unpublished lecture entitled "Archangels in Imperial Garb." These initials appear on the globe of the Archangel Michael in the parecclesion of the Kariye Camii (P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* [New York, 1966], I, 242 and III, pl. 472).

on our figure traces of brown hair with ochre accents can be observed. The alternative might be Paul, who is usually shown bent over the foot of the bier, but it is just these two apostles who may be identified at the right—as the two full-length figures facing each other at the end of the bier (fig. 43). The elderly apostle with his back to the bier must be John, as he is virtually identical to the same apostle in the Pentecost (cf. fig. 36). He wears a voluminous, light red mantle, which is wrapped around his shoulders in such a way as to provide a wide circular frame for his face and left hand, which is raised to his temple in a grieving gesture. His right hand is raised palm out, outside his mantle.

Facing him is a dramatic, elongated figure enveloped in a pale pink himation, which is pulled tautly around his left arm. With his high, prominent forehead, receding brown hair, and long, brown beard shaded with blue as in the Pentecost, the figure's identification as Paul is certain (cf. color fig. D). He moves from the right, his left leg extended in a nearly straight diagonal line, the contours of the figure and drapery heavily outlined in a wide, red line. With his right hand he holds a thick fold of his mantle to his cheek, while his left arm is wrapped sling-like in his mantle, with only the hand exposed. The hard, linear quality of the garment of this figure is due in part to the dilute application of only two shades of red directly on the white ground.

The remaining six apostles are disposed behind John and Paul, but only Matthew, with his long, gray beard and hair combed in two lobes over his forehead (cf. fig. 39), and Mark, who has a short, brown beard accented in blue, and who clasps his cheek with his right hand, can be identified.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ The apostles are disposed in two rows from left to right as follows: (first row) 1. the shoulder and back of the head of an apostle with brown hair, wearing an olive green himation, with brown fold-lines and white highlights; 2. old apostle (Matthew) with long beard and short, white hair, wearing pink himation; 3. youthful, beardless apostle with short, brown hair, wearing grayish red himation; 4. apostle with brown hair and short, rounded beard, mantle eroded; 5. apostle with dark brown hair and medium-length, brown

With the exception of one apostle who wears an olive green himation, all wear light red, pink, or greyish red¹¹⁷ himatia and gray tunics. The evidence for the eleventh apostle is the black and white censer on three long chains prominently visible between the archangel behind the bier and the grieving apostle next to him. As Peter normally holds a censer when he stands in his usual place at the head of the bier, it is likely that he is depicted here behind the bier, holding the censer. But it is also possible that the censer is held by one of the bishops, as it is at Lagoudera.¹¹⁸ Fragments of only two bishops are preserved behind the bier at the right. Each wears a purple-brown phelonion¹¹⁹ and a cream-colored omophorion edged with white and decorated with a black cross on the shoulder.

In the upper spandrel of the composition are three flying angels approaching from the right, their veiled hands extended before them to receive the soul of the Virgin (fig. 42). In each case, the right wing is partially visible below the halo while the left wing is extended behind. The wings are brown, with the main feather lines outlined in ochre, while the inner part of the wing is black with the feathers drawn in thick strokes of red, pink, and white. Although fragmentary, the angels are otherwise in good condition. The face of each is slightly different, the first being round, the second slightly rectangular, the third a more oval shape. The modeling displays a more delicate buildup of colors with both gray-green underpaint and a thin wash of brown to round the curving line of cheek and chin. The cheeks are additionally accented with red, as are the lips, while the skin tones are pale

beard, wearing grayish red himation; (upper row) 6. apostle (Mark) with short, brown hair and beard with blue accents, wearing light red himation; 7. beardless apostle with short, brown (?) hair growing low over forehead, wearing light red or pink himation.

¹¹⁷ Medium red shaded with dark brown and lightened with gray-brown and gray to give grayish red. See Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart B.18.

¹¹⁸ Stylianou, Λαγούδερα, pl. 153; Peter, holding a long staff, stands in his customary place at the head of the bier, while one of the bishops holds the censer.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart B.10.

ochre with the highlights in cream. The first and third angels are dressed in light red mantles over gray tunics while the central angel wears a light red tunic and a light tan mantle outlined in black with brown fold-lines. All are nimbed and their brown hair is tied at the nape of the neck with a black and white fillet which flutters out behind the head. The hair of the first and third is wavy, while that of the central angel is curly, the ringlets defined by ochre lines.

Filling the area behind the apostles but below the angels is a large rectangular building placed horizontally across the picture plane. It is painted light yellow-ochre and shaded darker at the right; above is a gray tiled roof draped with two deep swags of scarlet cloth, decorated at intervals with a circle between double white lines. Beneath the roof line is a two-zoned frieze: the upper one consists of small square openings in brown, outlined on the upper right sides in white, which, for lack of a better term, shall be described here as a simplified billet molding; below is a projecting sawtooth cornice, the ascending stroke white, the descending stroke brown accented with black. Each molding is set off by horizontal, double brown, lines enclosing a thin white line. The wall is pierced at the right by two vertical, slit windows painted dark red, and above this, to the left, is a decorative diamond motif, drawn in black and white.

The Koimesis at Monagri clearly does not follow the orthodox disposition of the subject in Byzantine painting, in which the apostles are divided in two groups placed at the head and the foot of the bier, with the figure of Christ holding the Virgin's soul standing behind the bier in the center of the composition.¹²⁰ Instead, most of the apostles—indeed possibly all twelve—and at least two bishops are grouped at the foot of the bier. In Christ's place behind the bier stands an archangel dressed in what is intended to be imperial costume, and holding

¹²⁰ L. Wratislav-Mitrovic and N. Okunev, "La dormition de la Sainte Vierge dans la peinture médiévale orthodoxe," *Byzantinon-slavica*, 3 (1931), 134–74, esp. 135–45; J. Duhr, "La 'Dormition' de Marie dans l'art chrétien," *NRTH*, 72 (1950), 139–43.

an orb and scepter. Another archangel stands at the left, at the head of the bier where Peter usually stands, while Christ, holding the Virgin's soul, must have stood off-center behind the bier, by the Virgin's head.

This iconographic type of the Koimesis is relatively rare in Byzantine art, although there are a number of precedents for, if not an exact parallel to, the disposition. The earliest example occurs in the elaborate composition at Tokah Kilise, New Church,¹²¹ where at least ten apostles are grouped at the foot of the bier; in addition Christ stands slightly off-center behind the bier as he places the soul of the Virgin in the veiled hands of an angel standing beside Him behind the bier. One or two fragmentary figures are preserved standing at the head of the bier, one of which Jerphanion believes to be an apostle,¹²² but there appear to be no archangels. Above the scene, however, Christ is seated in a mandorla, surrounded by a host of angels, of which the two flanking Him wear imperial costumes and hold scepters; on the left, upon clouds, are busts of eleven apostles, each escorted by an angel. The important elements here are the displacement of the apostles to the foot of the bier, Christ's placement off-center, the angel standing beside Him (as distinct from the usual flying angels), and, finally, the presence of archangels in imperial garb in the upper half of the scene.

Archangels, dressed in imperial costume or not, are not part of the usual iconography of the Koimesis before the middle of the thirteenth century, although they do appear in isolated examples as at Pskov (1156)¹²³ and Kurbinovo (1191),¹²⁴ where they hieratically flank Christ behind the bier. Of much greater relevance for the Monagri composition are the frescoes in two churches in Kastoria. In the Hagioi Anargyroi,¹²⁵ a host

¹²¹ Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, text vol. I, 2, pp. 357–58 and Album II, pl. 83,1; a better reproduction is in Wratislav-Mitrovic and Okunev, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

¹²² *Op. cit.*, 358.

¹²³ Wratislav-Mitrovic and Okunev, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.

¹²⁴ Nikolovski, *Kurbinovo* (note 47 *supra*), fig. 2.

¹²⁵ Pelekanides, *Kastoria* (note 62 *supra*), pl. 14, b.

of five archangels in imperial garb and holding orb and scepter stand at the head of the bier, displacing all the apostles, except Peter and John, to the foot of the bier. At the Mavriotissa,¹²⁶ the composition is reversed, with the host of archangels, again in imperial costume and holding orbs and scepters, standing at the foot of the bier, while Peter, John, and Paul are in their customary places. On the basis of these two compositions, it seems plausible to assume that at Monagri also there was a host of archangels standing at the head of the bier, of whom a fragment of only one is preserved. Arguing in favor of such a hypothesis are two thirteenth-century scenes of the Koimesis, a wash drawing in a sticheraion from Mt. Sinai (cod. 1216)¹²⁷ possibly dating to the middle of the century, and a crusader icon from an iconostasis beam, also from Mt. Sinai,¹²⁸ dating probably to the third quarter of the century. In both instances, six of the apostles have been replaced by a host of archangels who hold an orb and scepter (though none wears imperial costume) and stand either at the head of the bier (manuscript) or at the foot (icon). Thus, although the presence of archangels at one end of the bier would seem to be a strictly limited iconographic type, occurring only at Kastoria, Monagri, and in the Sinai manu-

¹²⁶ Moutsopoulos, *Kastoria...Mavriótissa*, fig. 69; Pelekanides, *op. cit.*, pl. 70.

¹²⁷ K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1973), 25 and fig. 35. Weitzmann tentatively suggests that the miniature may be the work of a Latin artist. An earlier date for the manuscript has been proposed by Nigel Wilson, who, on the basis of the marginal writing (which is more distinctive than that of the main text), would suggest a date in the twelfth century.

¹²⁸ K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 64, fig. 24. In the light of the Kastoria and the Monagri examples, Weitzmann's thesis, that archangels in the Koimesis holding an orb and scepter must be either an iconographical error or a deliberate alteration for the purposes of Western dogma, must be revised. Winfield's suggestion ("Reports on Monagri," 260 note 2), that Weitzmann's attribution of the Sinai icon to a Venetian atelier indicates that the Monagri artist must also be Venetian, is obviously without foundation.

script, it nevertheless found its way into crusader painting.

The principal differences between the Monagri and Kastoria compositions is that in the latter there is no archangel behind the bier, and Christ stands centrally rather than at the head of the bier. Only Tokali Kilise provides a precedent for a single angel standing beside Christ, but the off-center figure of Christ occurs in a number of examples, among which is Lagoudera.¹²⁹

The Single Figures

The four *Evangelists* were placed in the eastern and western spandrels of the naos, in the zone beneath the springing of the vault, a disposition analogous to that of the evangelists at Asinou.¹³⁰ Fragments of three are preserved—Mark in the northwest corner, John in the northeast, and either Luke or Matthew in the southwest. The fourth should have been in the southeast spandrel. Here, however, occurs the difficulty posed by the ledge along the south wall and the resulting unequal division of the wall space on the north and south sides. At the east end of the church, the ledge is fairly deep (*ca.* 14 cm.), but it narrows toward the west until it peters out over the crown of the southwest recess, leaving an uninterrupted space for the evangelist in the western spandrel. Thus, although the figure was inserted into the zone of the Transfiguration, there was nothing to prohibit its placement there. Such is not the case at the east end, where the evangelist would have to be squeezed into the uncomfortably small spandrel below the ledge. As this would not have been a very satisfactory solution, it is worth considering an alternative—that the

¹²⁹ Stylianou, Λαγούδερα, pl. 153; also in Boiana (early layer), in the British Museum Gospel, Harley 1810, and in Tirnovo, Forty Martyrs (Wratislav-Mitrovic and Okunev, *op. cit.*, figs. 5, 6 and 10).

¹³⁰ Noted by Winfield, "Reports on Monagri," 260. For the Asinou evangelists, see D. C. Winfield and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of Our Lady of Asinou, Cyprus. A Report on the Seasons of 1965 and 1966," *DOP*, 21 (1967), 263 and figs. 9 (detail upper right) and 12 (detail upper left); they occupy the large spandrels between the blind arches, while at Monagri the two western figures are placed in the smaller spandrels adjacent to the west wall.

figure was placed on the spandrel between the arches of the southeast and southwest recesses. A balanced, symmetrical disposition would be lost, but at the gain of sufficient space for the figure.

The best preserved figure is the *Evangelist Mark*, inscribed [ό διγιός] Μα[ρ]κ[ος], who is placed in the northwest spandrel, on a fragment whose maximum preserved dimensions are 1.304 by 1.055 m. (figs. 44, 45). With the exception of the head and the lettering on the scroll, where the paint has almost entirely flaked away, the figure is in good condition. He is seated on an elaborate latticed chair, bending forward tensely as he writes on a codex, his right foot poised on a rung of the chair. Traces of paint surviving on his face indicate that he had brown hair and a short, rounded beard, the hair lines painted in blue as in the Pentecost. He wears a blue-gray tunic¹³¹ with a single red clavus over his right shoulder; his wide sleeve falls in fluid folds over the mantle wrapped around the waist and exposes the mauve cuff of his undertunic. His mantle is light purple or mauve, with dilute purple shading, darker purple fold-lines, and white highlights. The stiff folds around his waist are outlined in black and are without white highlights—a curious omission in view of the particularly wide repertoire of highlights lavished on this figure (fig. 45): solid triangles, sprays of V's, semicircles, and hatchings flicker over broad angular areas of drapery to articulate the figure convincingly. In his left hand the Evangelist clutches a fold of his mantle and holds a codex on which are preserved three letters of the opening words of his Gospel (Mark 1:1): +Α[ρχή]τοῦ[εὐαγγελίου]. In front of him, below his left knee, is a small, brown table on which are placed a writing box (mostly eroded) and a white vase, or pitcher, with a slim curving handle.

The throne-like chair in which he sits is drawn in red-brown and painted yellow-ochre. It clearly reveals the figure through the complex latticework of the side panel, which is divided into four registers by plain horizontal rungs, each panel composed in a

¹³¹ Pale gray painted over the blue background to give blue-gray; dark gray fold-lines and white highlights.

different design. The lowest register consists of vertical bead-and-reel slats which are repeated on the two registers supporting the seat. The attempt at three-dimensionality is not successful and suggests that the painter was following a model too complex for his talents. Indeed, such openwork chairs are extremely rare in both monumental painting and manuscript illumination, and the only comparable examples occur in two manuscripts belonging to the so-called "Nicaea School," Phillips cod. 3887, now in the collection of H. P. Kraus, and Mt. Athos, Dionysiou cod. 23, both of which date to the early thirteenth century.¹³² In both manuscripts, the throne-like chairs are strikingly similar, though of an even more elaborate, lattice design, and this type is quite distinct from the lathework chairs found in many twelfth- and early thirteenth-century manuscripts.¹³³ Also comparable to the Monagri Evangelist is the accentuated forward pose of the figures of Luke in the two manuscripts; each bends forward from the hip, intently writing on a codex, and, as in the figure of Mark at Monagri, the long line of back, shoulder, and neck are drawn in a single, smooth, unbroken contour, with no hump at the shoulder.

At the top of the panel in the center is an unexpected feature: a semicircular segment, scalloped in outline, representing Heaven and symbolizing the Divine Inspiration Mark

¹³² New York, Coll. H. P. Kraus (*olim* Phillips Coll. cod. 3887), fol. 121v (Luke); H. Buchthal, "An Unknown Byzantine Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century," *Connoisseur* (April 1964), 217–24; *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Private Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1973), no. 51 and fig. 93. Mt. Athos, Dionysiou cod. 23, fols. 105r (Luke) and 172r (John); S. Pelekanides, P. Christou, C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, S. Kada, Οἱ Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου ὄρους: Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα, I: Πρώτατον, Μ. Διονυσίου, Μ. Κουτλουμουσίου, Μ. Χηροποτάμου, Μ. Γρηγορίου (Athens, 1973), figs. 59–60.

¹³³ E.g., Vatican, Cod. Urb. gr. 2, fol. 21 (C. Stornajolo, *Miniatore delle omilie di Giacomo monaco [Cod. Vat. gr. 1162] e dell'Evangelario greco Urbinate [Cod. Vat. Urbin. gr. 2]* [Rome, 1910], pl. 85); Brit. Mus. Burney 19, fol. 1 (*Byzantine Art an European Art* [Ninth exhibition held under the Auspices of the Council of Europe] [Athens, 1964], no. 314 and plate); Mt. Athos, Lavra B 26, fol. 87v (unpublished).

received when writing his Gospel. It is a feature not commonly associated with Mark, or with any of the seated evangelists, especially in monumental painting, but it is not without parallels.¹³⁴ The one most similar is a thirteenth-century fresco in Spilia Pendeli in Athens, showing the Evangelist Matthew, seated in three-quarter view, holding a book in his left hand, with the hand of God above him;¹³⁵ another is a

¹³⁴ The idea that the Gospels were divinely inspired is perfectly orthodox; it is expressed in Byzantine evangelist portraits in a variety of forms, but they are found principally in manuscript illumination rather than in monumental painting. For a summary account of this aspect of evangelist portraits, see *RBK*, II, s.v. "Evangelisten," especially "Inspiration, Begleitfiguren," cols. 467–69; and J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, "Ein Evangelientyp mit Aposteln als Begleitfiguren," *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von A. Goldschmidt* (Berlin, 1935), 30f. As early as the sixth century, Mark is accompanied by "Divine Wisdom," in the Rossano Gospels (A. Muñoz, *I codici pupureo di Rossano* [Rome, 1907], pl. xv). In the Middle Byzantine period, a dove is occasionally shown whispering in his ear: e.g., Vat. Barb. gr. 520 (K. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, VIII [Boston, 1937], pl. 597); Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 51 (Omont, *Miniatures* [note 75 *supra*], pl. LXXXII). A rarer type occurs in Vat. Copt. 9 which shows the Archangel Michael standing beside Mark (H. Hyvernat, *Album de Paléographie Copte* [Osnabrück, 1972, reprint of 1888 ed.], pl. LI). The same manuscript includes the figure of Luke inspired by Gabriel, John seated next to a standing Virgin Orans, and Matthew standing next to an enthroned Pantocrator. A more frequent, though still relatively rare, inspiration figure was St. Peter, who appears as a half-figure within a segment of heaven in Athos, Koutloumousiou 61 (P. Huber, *Athos* [Zurich, 1969], pl. 129), and as a standing figure in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W 524 (*Illuminated Gr. MSS from Amer. Colls.* [see note 132 *supra*], no. 5), and in Athens, Nat. Lib. 151 (A. Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures et à ornements des Bibliothèques d'Athènes* [Liège-Paris, 1926], pl. viii). The last few examples reflect an ecclesiastical tradition, based on certain Early Christian sources, that the Gospel of Mark was inspired by the teachings of Peter, and that of Luke by the doctrines of St. Paul (*ibid.*, 23, and *Illuminated Gr. MSS from Amer. Colls.*, no. 48).

¹³⁵ I am indebted to Dr. Doula Mouriki, who plans to publish these paintings, for pointing out this example to me. She tentatively dates the frescoes ca. 1225–30.

twelfth-century fresco (unpublished) in the church of the Evangelistria, Yeraki, where it is the Evangelist John who is shown with the hand of God; in this instance the Evangelist is represented turning around to look at the segment of heaven behind him.

The hand of God is a motif associated with the Evangelist John, but is used in the scene of John dictating his Gospel to Prochoros rather than as part of the iconography of the seated Evangelist.¹³⁶ There is, however, a relatively rare type of portrait of John, discussed by Hugo Buchthal, which is found principally in manuscript illumination: it represents the seated Evangelist, holding a book or scroll in his left hand in the normal fashion, but turning around to look up at the hand of God issuing from the segment of heaven, exactly as does the Yeraki evangelist.¹³⁷ One manuscript even combines this type of seated John figure with the figure of the scribe Prochoros.¹³⁸ The few manuscripts containing this exceptional portrait type range in date from the tenth to the fourteenth century, but that providing the closest comparisons to the Monagri Evangelist is Athos, Lavra B 26, another manuscript of the "Nicaea Group," dating to the early thirteenth century. Here, John is shown seated with the hand of God above him, but, like Mark at Monagri and Matthew at Spilia Pendeli, he does not turn around to look at it. An intriguing detail common to both Monagri and the manuscript is the scalloped white border of the segment of heaven. Thus, it is likely that both the Monagri and Spilia

¹³⁶ See A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, 5 (1927), 115–49, especially 146–47 and figs. 172, 176, 180, 184; H. Buchthal, "A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and Its Relatives," *DOP*, 15 (1961), 132–33 and fig. 8.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 132 and fig. 7. In addition to the four examples cited by Buchthal, the type occurs also in Rome, Vat. Barb. gr. 449, fol. 188^r, and Athos, Lavra B 26, fol. 87v. Buchthal cites the influence of this type of John portrait on the representation of the Evangelists Mark and Luke in three other manuscripts: a twelfth-century Gospel in Vienna, and two fourteenth-century Gospels, one in Vienna and one in Moscow (*ibid.*, note 19). These examples are clearly direct copies of this type of John portrait.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

Pendeli evangelists are an adaptation of this unusual type.

Framing the panel above the figure were two buildings. The one on the left is a two-toned rectangular structure with a long, light gray wall shaded dark gray and white, and a light red façade. The gray wall is pierced by two slit windows, and the façade has a single large rectangular window, closed over its lower half by a bead-and-reel grille. Above the windows are two friezes identical to those in the Koimesis, while on the façade is a third, a kind of dentil frieze composed of vertical black and white strokes. The gray tiled roof here terminates in a pink marble gable or conical roof, veined in black and white, over which is draped the usual scarlet cloth. At the right side is a fragment of a second building, of which all that survives is a bit of red bunting hanging down along the light olive green façade.

Nothing is preserved of *John the Evangelist* (fig. 34) on the northeast spandrel except the right half of the inscription, written in white letters against the blue ground: [δέητος ιωάννης] ο Θεολόγο[ς].¹³⁹ In the southwest spandrel, both the Evangelist and inscription are lost, but parts of the left and right corners of the architectural background are preserved on two fragments (figs. 24, 25).¹⁴⁰ The well-preserved building on the left is painted on a piece of plaster which protrudes 2 or 3 cm. from the wall, perhaps to cover the last part of the ledge along the wall. The building is similar to others represented in the church and consists of a long wall divided into sections, the left painted a warm yellow-brown, the right painted light olive brown. The grayish pink façade is surmounted by a conical marble roof, painted light green and veined in brown at the left and in white at the right. The usual cornices decorate the long wall, while on the façade the saw-tooth cornice is set obliquely to simulate a corbel frieze, and the billet molding consists of circles rather than squares. There is also a dentil frieze of vertical black and white strokes

¹³⁹ The dimensions of this fragment are 27 by 43 cm.

¹⁴⁰ The panel was originally 1.57 m. wide, and it is preserved to a maximum height of 44.7 cm. on the left.

just below the conical roof. Each section of the wall is pierced by two windows, a dark brown oculus outlined in white above a large rectangular window. The usual red bunting is draped over the gray tiled roof. Of the building at the right, which was originally grayish pink, only the cloth over the roof can be discerned.

The only other single figure surviving on the upper walls of the naos is the fragmentary head of King David, inscribed Δα [νίδ] (fig. 30). Only the upper half of his nimbed, crowned head is preserved which, due to some picking of the surface of the plaster, is in only fair condition. He has curly gray hair and wears a *calotte* crown, placed low on the forehead, which is painted ochre and drawn in heavy brown lines. It is divided by bands of pearls into six panels, each set with a red or blue gem. Along the rim are five sprays of pearls, with the central pearl somewhat larger than the others, but there are no pendilia. The crown, except for the missing pendilia, is virtually identical to that of the Emperor Constantine at St. Neophytos.¹⁴¹ Possibly a bust of Solomon on the right side of the Annunciation originally balanced that of David.

Fragments of six bishops are preserved in the bema: three are located in a row on the north wall just below the Ascension, and three are on the walls and vaults of the prothesis.

The three on the north wall are fragmentary, with only the heads and shoulders preserved, while a fourth bishop on the right is missing except for the δ ἄ(γιος) at the left of his head (fig. 33). Identifying inscriptions are written in thin white letters, δ ἄ(γιος) at the left of each figure, abbreviated to an *alpha* within a circle, and, at the right, the name written vertically. They are identified as SS. Epaphras, Philagrios, and Zenon, all of whom, though local Cypriot bishops, were of sufficient reputation to have been venerated in the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarium*.¹⁴² As the wall space above

¹⁴¹ Mango-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos" (note 98 *supra*), fig. 35.

¹⁴² Their feasts are venerated in the *Synaxarium CP* as follows: St. Epaphras (or Epa-phroditos) on May 18, St. Philagrios on February 9, and St. Zenon on June 12.

the opening of the prothesis is adequate, it is probable, though not certain, that they were full-length standing figures. Each faces frontally, gazing straight ahead. They wear stiff, gray omophoria, edged with white and decorated with a large black cross on each shoulder, and light red phelonia, which are visible at the neck where the tunic and epitrachelia should be.

St. Epaphras, inscribed [δ ἄγιος] || Ε|πα|φρᾶς, who was bishop of Paphos in the first century,¹⁴³ is preserved to a height of 29 cm., excluding the halo. He has short, straight, gray hair parted in the center and combed close to his head, with two lobes brushed over his forehead, and a straight beard falling in five strands to a point at the crossing of his omophorion. Tufts of brown hair below his cheek give a gaunt look to his face. Next to him is *St. Philagrios*, inscribed δ ἄ(γιος) || Φι|λάγριος, who may also have been a bishop of Paphos.¹⁴⁴ Preserved only from the eyes up, he has short, gray hair combed forward over the forehead in two defined rows of locks. *St. Zenon*, inscribed δ ἄ(γιος) || Ζε|νων, a well-known bishop of Kurion,¹⁴⁵ is balding, with short, tightly curled hair visible at the temples. A few strands of hair, defined in black, are combed over his high forehead. His long, straight beard comes to a point above the crossing of the omophorion.

The three bishops in the prothesis are also local saints, but none is noted in the *Synaxarium*. They are placed on the soffits of the arch and on the north wall, to the right of the window (fig. 5); a fourth bishop, to the

¹⁴³ J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus* (London, 1901), 314, especially 376–77, and 430; Hackett-Papaioannou, "Ιστορία, II (note 29 *supra*), 9, 191; Delehaye, "Saints de Chypre" (note 29 *supra*), 237, 260. The name is used interchangeably with that of Epaphroditos (Hackett, *op. cit.*, 376).

¹⁴⁴ Hackett, *op. cit.*, 381, 431; Hackett-Papaioannou, "Ιστορία, II, 10 and note 2; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, 259. The *Synaxarium CP*, col. 454, mentions only that he was a bishop of Cyprus, but certain Cypriot chroniclers identify him as a bishop of Paphos (Hackett, *op. cit.*, 315).

¹⁴⁵ Hackett, *op. cit.*, 16, 313; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, 255, 260. Bishop Zenon is known to have attended the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, which secured the independence of the Cyprus Church from that of Antioch.

left of the window, is missing. Those on the soffits are larger in scale than the one on the north wall, and were probably intended to be full-length standing figures; that in the east soffit is interrupted by the niche below, while that on the west is destroyed below the waist.

The bishop on the east soffit is preserved to a height of 70.8 cm. on a fragment 50 cm. wide (fig. 52). The right half of the figure, as well as his name, is lost, but ὁ ἄγιος written vertically is preserved on the left. He has short, straight, gray-green hair, brushed forward, and a narrow, pointed beard divided into four strands, with a well-defined form over the chin. His forehead is wide and his eyes, widely set, look upward and away from the center of the church. He wears a light red tunic, visible only at the neck, which has an undecorated ochre cuff and an ochre epitrachelion decorated with double red lines. Over this is a yellowish grey phelonion¹⁴⁶ and a cream-colored omophorion with a black cross on the shoulder. His right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing, palm in. Opposite him in the west soffit is *St. Nikon*, inscribed [ὁ ἄγιος] || Νίκων, a bishop of Arsinoë,¹⁴⁷ who is preserved in underpaint on a fragment 1.01 m. by 51.5 cm. (fig. 53). He had short gray hair, combed forward with a single lock over the forehead, and a gray pointed beard, but the features of his face are almost entirely obliterated. He wears a pale red phelonion and a cream-colored omophorion with black crosses, and holds a book upright in his left hand. The book had a yellow-ochre cover set with jewels, which are preserved only in outline. Behind Nikon was an unusually high zone of green ground, from which the pigment has entirely flaked off, leaving only an eroded area of gray underpaint. Green ground was not used elsewhere in the prothesis.

St. Ariston, bishop of Salamis, is on the north wall, his name inscribed vertically on the right: [ὁ ἄγιος] || Ἀριστόν (figs. 50, 51).¹⁴⁸ Although only the head and the left

half of the figure are preserved to a height of 75 cm., he is the best preserved of the bishops. He has gray-green hair, parted in the center and combed forward in two lobes over the forehead, and his medium-length, pointed beard is divided into four strands with a well-defined oval form over the chin. His prominent cheek bones are set in relief by tufts of brown hair, and he has widely set almond-shaped eyes, slightly arched brows, and large, highly placed ears. He wears a pale red phelonion and cream-colored omophorion, the end of which is pulled over his left arm. In his left hand he holds a codex at an angle—probably balancing it with his missing right hand—its jewelled ochre cover preserved mainly in outline.

The treatment of the bishops is somewhat different from that of the figures on the vaults. Although none of the bishops is complete, judging from those in the prothesis, their proportions are broader and the figures more substantial than the generally attenuated images on the vaults. Furthermore, the drapery falls in distinctive, straight, vertical folds, thickly outlined in dark red and methodically shaded in long, vertical strokes, on which the highlights are applied as a single long white line (fig. 52). This technique differs from that used for drapery elsewhere in the church where the highlights are applied as short scratchy strokes.

The faces of the bishops are characterized by large, widely set, almond-shaped eyes under low flattened eyebrows, long straight noses, and extremely large ears which are placed high on the head.¹⁴⁹ Although the physiognomy of the figures is consistent throughout the church, if one compares the head of Ariston (fig. 50) with that of Peter in the Pentecost (fig. 37) or of Simeon in the Presentation (fig. 22), it is clear that the former is drawn with markedly less exaggerated relief than are those on the vault. Light ochre and creamy flesh tones are smoothly modeled over a light gray-green

¹⁴⁶ Light brown over gray, with dark brown folds and white highlights.

¹⁴⁷ Hackett, *op. cit.*, 319; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, 201, 203.

¹⁴⁸ Hackett, *op. cit.*, 5, 304, 372, esp. 375 and 430; Hackett-Papaioannou, *Istoria*, II, 176,

who also gives the name as Aristion; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, 236, 267.

¹⁴⁹ Very similar to the Monagri bishops are the faces of SS. Blasios, Modestos, and Polycarpus in the Church of St. Nicholas Katsouris, Arta (cf. A. Orlando, in *Αρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ελλ.*, 2 (1936), 67, fig. 10).

ground, and the cheeks and lips are often warmed with a dilute red. While the paint is applied thickly in both instances, the flesh tones of the bishops are graduated, almost entirely covering the ground color, which is not used in its unadulterated form as a means of shadow. On the other hand, the palette used in both instances is the same, as is the unsure drawing of the faces; there are also traces of scratchy highlights like those on the vault panels. These common elements are sufficient to dispel any doubts about the homogeneity of the style of these paintings. The discrepancy in the treatment of the bishops may be due to their placement lower on the walls, or simply to a more refined hand within the workshop.

The remaining paintings of this period are found in the soffits and lunette of the north-east recess. Four roundels, each containing the nimbed bust of a hymnographer, decorate the soffits of the arch (figs. 46, 47). They vary in diameter from 70.5 to 80.5 cm. and all have a yellow-ochre border edged with an outer white and inner black line. Those on the east soffit are slightly smaller and their borders narrower, because the latter form an interlace with the borders of a small roundel separating them. Originally the backgrounds were alternately green and red, beginning at the east with green, but most of the green pigment has flaked off, leaving a gray ground. The roundels are set against a blue background, which is well preserved. Both lower medallions have been damaged on the naos side, where large sections of plaster have broken away. The hymnographers are identified by inscriptions, three of which are preserved: those for Kosmas and Joseph are written vertically on either side of their heads, while that for John of Damascus is written horizontally in the field above the medallion. The figures are all shown frontally, their eyes looking straight ahead, but each has a distinctive physiognomy.

Beginning with the first medallion on the east (which is overlapped at the bottom by the sixteenth-century painting), is *John of Damascus*, δι (sic) Δαμασκός || κινό[ς] inscribed horizontally in thin spidery letters (fig. 46). The right third of the medallion is lost, and both his face and right hand are nearly

obliterated. He had a full, straight, gray beard coming to a point above his chest; the paint of the lower part has mostly eroded. Wrapped around his head is a bright blue turban, the ends of which are visible at his neck; it is decorated with a series of double white lines enclosing crosslets of dots, most of which have flaked off. Nothing of his tunic is visible except traces of a yellow cuff, but he wore a dark, purple-brown mantle shaded with black and dilute gray highlights. His right hand was raised, palm out, and his left is missing.

In the medallion above (diameter 64 to 65 cm.) is *St. Kosmas*, inscribed vertically in thick white letters δ|ἄ|γι|ος || Κ|οσ|μός (fig. 46). He is well preserved, and his face provides one of the few instances in these paintings of individualized expression, despite its conventionalized modeling. He is depicted as an old, worn man, with a craggy face, sad, tired eyes that sag at the corners, and eyebrows knit together. The skin tones, applied in thick, separate strokes, are dark ochre over a very dark gray-green base. His straight, gray-green beard, which is badly eroded, narrows to a point over his chest. Like John of Damascus, he wears a blue turban decorated with a single circle between a pair of double white lines; the ends hang down at either side of his neck and are outlined in white. His yellow-ochre cuff shows beneath his dark olive green mantle.¹⁵⁰ With his right hand he points toward the scroll, which he grasps awkwardly at the top in his left hand. The scroll extends beyond the medallion to the viewer's right. On it, written in thick black letters, are the opening lines of his thirteenth Hymn, dedicated to the Presentation: + Χερσὸν| ἀβυσσώ|τωκομ πέ|[δ]ον τίλ[ι]ος ἐπεπτό|λ[ε]-νοε|[ποτὲ], that is, "the sun once shone onto a rocky plain in which deep cracks were forming...."¹⁵¹

In the medallion at the top of the west soffit (70.5 to 72 cm.) is an unidentified hymnographer, holding a closed scroll in his left hand, his right raised in the gesture of blessing, with the first and fourth fingers closed (fig. 47). Younger than Kosmas, his

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix I, p. 330 and Chart B.12.

¹⁵¹ Cosmas Hierosolymitanus, *Hymni* (PG, 98, col. 509).

flesh tones are paler, painted over gray rather than dark gray-green underpaint. He has a high, wide forehead, a long, narrow face, and a receding hairline; his short, sparse hair is combed forward at the temples, with a few strands drawn in black combed over his forehead. His long, yellowish gray beard falls in two separate strands around either side of a well-defined circular form over his chin from which the hairlines have either flaked off or were never applied. He wears a purple-brown mantle identical to Kosmas', fastened over his chest with a clasp on which three pearls survive. The yellow-ochre cuff of his tunic is exposed.

In the lower medallion is the figure of *St. Joseph*, the name surviving only on the right: [ό οἰος] || Ι[ω]σήφ. The inscription was painted first in thick strokes, a second time in thin letters, at which time the *phi* was moved up slightly. The condition is poor, with a large section of plaster lost from the lower quarter of the medallion, while the surface is eroded overall, exposing much of the red preliminary drawing on the face. Joseph has a rather broad, rectangular face, with a high forehead; his short, yellowish gray hair is parted in the center and combed close to the head, with two rounded lobes over his forehead. His beard is short, full, and slightly curly, and the modeling of his face is in even paler cream tones than those of the figures above. He wears what was originally an olive green mantle which has eroded away to the yellow underpaint. It was fastened in front, and visible at his neck is a light blue scarf, decorated in white with crosslets of dots between double white lines.

The last painting belonging to this series is a fragment in the lunette of the northeast recess (fig. 48). What remains is only the upper half of a scene with an architectural background. The baldachin at the right suggests that it might have been the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. It is preserved on two fragments, right and left of the window, and is now confined to the lunette proper, but originally it must have covered most of the north wall. The full width was 2.12 m. and it is preserved to a maximum height of 92.5 cm.

The arched openings of the domed baldachin were supported by light ochre

capitals (badly eroded) on four slender columns, of which only two are partly preserved. The baldachin is painted light gray with a band of white at the top, while the inside spandrel is shaded with a wash of black; it is surmounted by a disk-like finial rising on a short stem which is also painted gray and outlined in white. A curious teardrop shape—red, outlined in white—is preserved against the baldachin just above the missing left column, and may possibly be the tip of a candle held by one of the maiden attendants.

On the left fragment is a building similar to the others in the church. It has a two-toned, long wall sloping upward from left to right to meet the façade, which is topped by a conical roof terminating in a bulbous finial; below is an acanthus molding identical to that in the Annunciation. The long wall is painted light olive green and a pale purple or mauve,¹⁵² while the façade is a very pale red. Each section of the building is pierced by a rectangular window, the opening painted a darker tone of ground color. All sections of the building have a triple molding: a lower saw-tooth cornice set obliquely, the usual upright one above, and a billet molding with circular openings at the top. The tile roof of the long wall was omitted so that the scarlet cloth is draped directly over the top of the wall and wrapped around the finial.

The Ornament

Three fragments of painted ornament, all of identical design, are preserved in the reveals of the windows in the northeast recess and in the west wall. It consists of a diagonal design of straight black lines alternating with thick red and black zig-zags, against the unpainted plaster ground (fig. 49). The design is a relatively common one found with only slight variations in several Cypriot churches ranging in date from the third quarter of the twelfth century to the third quarter of the thirteenth.¹⁵³

¹⁵² See color analysis, Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart B.13.

¹⁵³ E.g., St. Neophytos, cell and bema (*ca.* 1180) and naos (*ca.* 1200): Mango-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos" figs. 60 (bema: yellow, green, and red zigzags between double black lines), 82

Style and Date

The cycle at Monagri is the only complete feast cycle dating before the fourteenth century that survives in Cyprus; it is, in fact, one of relatively few churches where the complete program was even planned.¹⁵⁴ In the course of the description, it was observed that the individual scenes reflect the iconographic traditions prevalent in the second half of the twelfth century; at the same time, a number of details were isolated that point in a general way to a *terminus post quem* for dating the frescoes. Certain of them, such as Simeon holding the Christ Child and the long-sleeved fur tunic worn by John the Baptist, occur throughout the second half of the twelfth century, though they peak in frequency toward the end of the century. Further, it was noted that neither the Baptist's costume nor his expressive combination of gestures continued in use much beyond the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Sharper focus is provided by the rare iconographic type of the Koimesis, with the apostles relegated to the foot of the bier and the archangels given a place of unusual prominence at the head of and behind the bier. This type was found to have its closest parallels in two churches in Kastoria, the Hagioi Anargyroi and the

and 100 (cell: red and yellow zigzags between single lines), 22 (naos: red zigzags between single lines), and 52 (iconostasis: chevron design composed of red zigzags between simple black lines); Kalopanayiotis (red zigzags between triple black lines: unpublished); and Moutoullas (red zigzags between double black lines: unpublished). A similar design occurs in the church of St. George at Staraja Ladoga (*ca.* 1167): V. Lazarev, *Freski Staroj Ladogi* (Moscow, 1960), figs. 71, 72.

¹⁵⁴ Perachorio is the only church that may have had the full complement of scenes, although a total of eleven seems most likely (Megaw-Hawkins, "Perachorio," 289). The cycle at Moutoullas is clearly abridged, consisting of only eight scenes which cover all but one panel of the available wall space. At Kalopanayiotis, with only four scenes preserved, the evidence is inconclusive. In the remaining churches that have large decorative programs, an abridged feast cycle was combined with scenes of the Passion, the Life of Christ, or the Life of the Virgin (e.g., St. Nicholas tis Stegis, Asinou, St. Chrysostomos, St. Neophytos, Lagoudera).

Mavriotissa, neither of which, however, is dated. On the basis of convincing comparisons with the dated churches of Kurbinovo (1191), on the one hand, and Lagoudera (1192), on the other, the Anargyroi frescoes have been dated also to the early 1190's.¹⁵⁵ Those of the Mavriotissa, however, are somewhat more problematic, the attributions ranging from the late eleventh to the first decades of the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, a date around the year 1200 or just after seems preferable to one in the twelfth century for the majority of the Mavriotissa frescoes. The latest features, then, are the genre element of the fish in the river in the scene of the Baptism, and the type of seated evangelist, especially the motif of the latticework chair, parallels for which were found in a number of manuscripts assigned to the first two decades of the thirteenth century. Although these latest features argue for a date after 1200, given the almost total lack of securely dated material for the iconographic comparisons, no firm *terminus post quem* can be established. All one can state with certainty is that the Monagri cycle clearly reflects innovations found in the Mediterranean basin in the period from the early 1190's to about 1220.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example, Nikolovski, *Kurbinovo* (note 47 *supra*), 4; Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes" (note 38 *supra*), 257-58; L. Hadermann-Misguich, "Tendances expressives et recherches ornementales dans la peinture byzantine de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle," *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 441-43; A. Orlando, Ή Ἀρχιτεκτονική καὶ αἱ Βυζαντινὲς Τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτρων (Athens, 1970), 264 and note 6. S. Pelekanides, on the other hand, continues to date them in the early twelfth century: "I più antichi affreschi di Kastoria," *CorsiRav*, 11 (1964), 358, 360-61; *idem*, in *Actes du XII^e congrès international d'études byzantines, Ohride, 1961*, I (Belgrade, 1963), 353; *idem*, Καστορία, pls. 1-42, there dated to the eleventh century.

¹⁵⁶ Moutsopoulos (Καστορία...Μαυριώτισσα [note 104 *supra*], 81) dates the Koimesis *ca.* 1180-1200; M. Chatzidakis ("Aspects de la peinture murale du XIII^e siècle," *L'art byzantin du XIII^e s.* [=Symposium de Sopočani, 1965] [Belgrade, 1967], 64 ff.), and Lazarev (*Storia* [note 75 *supra*], 292), both date the paintings to the first decades of the thirteenth century. Pelekanides dates most of them to the early twelfth century (Καστορία, pls. 63-83; *idem*, in *Actes du XII^e congrès... Ohride*, I, 354; *idem*, "I più antichi," 365-66).

The arrangement of the scenes is orthodox enough except for the Annunciation, which is placed on the north wall. One would expect it to have been located either in proximity to the apse (on the face of the eastern arch or on the eastern piers), or, more likely, given the plan of the church, to have begun the series at the east end of the south vault. It has already been noted that the placement of the Ascension on only one half of the vault is significant in that it marks a divergence from the traditional and remarkably consistent twelfth-century arrangement in Cyprus, where it occupies the entire bema vault. This, coupled with the static postures and the smooth, unagitated drapery, should be regarded as additional evidence indicating that the frescoes are later than the twelfth century.

The problem that confronts us, then, is how late in the thirteenth century they should be dated. The question is not a simple one because of our meager knowledge of thirteenth-century painting in Cyprus. In the twelfth century, on account of the wealth of monuments preserved, a coherent stylistic progression can be traced that has been found to reflect the major artistic developments in the capital.¹⁵⁷ Such is not the case in the thirteenth century. In the first place, there are few paintings belonging to this period, and they have yet to be properly investigated. To date, only the two well-preserved cycles at Kalopanayiotis and Moutoullas have been cleaned and studied, and these only in a brief article on thirteenth-century painting by Athanasios Papageorghiou.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, to the extent that one can judge from the scanty remains, the quality and style of the frescoes is very provincial, having almost no connection with the mainstream of thirteenth-century Byzantine painting. This, of course, is due in large

¹⁵⁷ Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes," 257–66 *passim*; Megaw-Hawkins, "Perachorio," 347–48; Stylianou, *Painted Churches* (note 27 *supra*), 152; Hadermann-Misguich, "Tendances expressives," 430, 433, 444–48.

¹⁵⁸ Ἰδιάλουσαι βυζ. τοιχ. (note 89 *supra*), 201–12, pls. x–xxx; for a listing of other thirteenth-century paintings in Cyprus, see *ibid.*, 202 and note 3; for additional illustrations, see Soteriou, *Mνημεῖα*, pls. 85–90, 117b, 161b (Moutoullas), and 108A (Kalopanayiotis).

part to the fact that all contacts with Byzantium had been severed by the conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lion-Hearted in 1191 and by the ensuing Lusignan occupation of the island, which cut it off from its artistic sources. Certainly it is unlikely that after 1191 Byzantine artists continued to come to Cyprus bringing with them knowledge of the current developments. The most difficult problem, however, is that for the entire thirteenth century there is only a single dated monument in Cyprus, the frescoes in the Panagia at Moutoullas, which an inscription tells us were painted in the year 1280.¹⁵⁹ Thus, between the years 1192, when the frescoes at Lagoudera were completed, and 1280, when Moutoullas was painted, there are no signposts by which to judge the development of Cypriot painting once its connections with the Empire were ruptured. The frescoes of Christ Antiphonites¹⁶⁰ and the naos paintings at St. Neophytos¹⁶¹ are generally placed around the year 1200, although it is possible that the latter may be dated slightly later; those at Kalopanayiotis are dated only in a general fashion to the first half of the thirteenth century, although the second quarter of that century may be inferred.¹⁶² As it turns out, the frescoes at Moutoullas, whose style has been aptly described as fossilized early Comnenian, have almost no relevance to those at Monagri except in one telling feature, the predominant use of red, which will be discussed below.

Until more evidence is brought to light and the few known paintings are properly investigated and published, it would be premature to attempt to treat the larger question of thirteenth-century painting in

¹⁵⁹ Soteriou, *Mνημεῖα*, pls. 117b and 161b; see also Stylianou, "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions" (note 36 *supra*), 102–3, fig. 4.

¹⁶⁰ Soteriou, *Mνημεῖα*, pl. 91 (incorrectly listed among the fourteenth- to sixteenth-century paintings); Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, 154–57, fig. 75; Papageorghiou, *Masterpieces* (note 107 *supra*), 28 and pl. xx, 2–3.

¹⁶¹ Mango-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos," 201; Papageorghiou, Ἰδιάλουσαι βυζ. τοιχ., 202.

¹⁶² Papageorghiou, *ibid.*, 211; *idem*, *Masterpieces*, 26 and pls. xxviii–xxix; Megaw-Stylianou, *Byz. Mosaics and Frescoes* (note 68 *supra*), 16, color pls. xix–xxii; Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, 103, fig. 48.

Cyprus. But, with the aim of establishing at least a relative chronology, I should like to examine briefly the style of the Monagri frescoes to determine what, if any, relationships exist among the monuments mentioned above.

The style of the paintings is characterized by elongated two-dimensional figures which are lined up across the front of the picture plane and, with the exception of the Koimesis, compressed into the tall, vertical format of the composition (figs. 19, 33, 43). There is little movement of any kind, and the gestures are quiet and restrained. Heavy black or red contours outline the figures and define the folds of the drapery. The latter are rendered as conventional patterns, generally drawn with reasonable regard to the form of the figure, as on the Evangelist Mark (fig. 44), the midwife (fig. 20), and the apostles in the Pentecost (fig. 35), but occasionally they fall erratically with no relationship to the proper articulation of the body, as over the legs of Joseph and the Virgin in the Presentation (fig. 23). Rarely is the mass of the body defined or the nature of the material suggested. White highlights are used extensively over the drapery, and are applied in rapid, sketchy strokes and loose, scratchy patterns, but they remain basically independent of the forms they modify (figs. 23, 35 [Matthew], 45).

This style is clearly rooted in the art of the late twelfth century. The extremely elongated figures so conspicuous in the Presentation and Koimesis (figs. 19, 43) find their closest parallels in the rather more elegant and refined figures at Lagoudera, such as Simeon and Anna in the Presentation of the Virgin and the angel in the Baptism.¹⁶³ The latter should also be compared to the figure of Paul in the Monagri Koimesis, where the handling of the long, unbroken line running from hip to ankle, the parallel curving lines defining the thigh, and the triangular break in the drapery at the knee are remarkably similar. In both monuments, strong linear contours dominate the figure

¹⁶³ Stylianou, Λαγούδερα (note 21 *supra*), pls. 145 and 149. On the elongation of the figures in late-twelfth-century art, see Hadermann-Misguich, "Tendances expressives," 447.

style, so that line plays a more emphatic role than internal modelling—a feature exemplified by a comparison of the figure of the midwife at Monagri (fig. 20) with that at Lagoudera.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, a juxtaposition of the brooding figure of Joseph (fig. 21 and color fig. B) with that at Lagoudera¹⁶⁵ reveals the degree to which both figures have been reduced to a relatively flat, linear pattern, on which the white highlights are as important intrinsically as they are for their role in modeling the figure. Yet, overall, the handling of the drapery in the two monuments is quite different. The mannered agitation of the folds at Lagoudera, fluttering in inflated tails,¹⁶⁶ or sinuous, ropy folds,¹⁶⁷ finds only an occasional and rather faint reflection at Monagri, in, for example, a single fold that stands out from the otherwise rigid, vertical fall of the drapery (figs. 23, 28, 33, 43). Undoubtedly these vestiges are clear enough indication of the derivation of the Monagri style from that of Lagoudera; at the same time, the faintness of the imprint is equally indicative of Monagri's later date. Just how much later will have to be judged from other details, for this late Comnenian figural style persisted well into the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁸ For example, traces of the Lagoudera style may be observed in certain features of the paintings of Kalapanayiotis, as in the elongation of the figures and the exaggerated, twisting poses of the prophets (especially that of Zachariah) in the dome,¹⁶⁹ but not in the treatment of the drapery. Between Monagri and Kalapanayiotis, however, there are some additional common elements. The elongated, high-waisted attendants of the Virgin in the Crucifixion¹⁷⁰ may be compared with Joseph and the Virgin in the Monagri Presentation of Christ, but

¹⁶⁴ Megaw-Stylianou, *Byz. Mosaics and Frescoes*, color pl. XVI.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, color pl. XVII.

¹⁶⁶ Stylianou, Λαγούδερα, pls. 146 and 149.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 151 and 149.

¹⁶⁸ The most prominent example of this survival is the frescoes in the church of Manastir (D. Koco and P. Milković-Pepek, *Manastir* [Skopje, 1958]).

¹⁶⁹ Of the prophets, only Jeremiah has been reproduced (Papageorghiou, Ἰδιάλουσαι βυζαντίου, pl. xx, 2).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. xx, 1.

despite their elongation, the Kalopanayiotis figures generally exhibit a much greater degree of corporeality. In both monuments one notes a reliance on thick, heavy contour lines around the figures and defining the folds of drapery,¹⁷¹ but those at Kalopanayiotis have been applied with a very thick brush in a crude, heavy manner. These comparisons with Kalopanayiotis point up the relative "elegance" of the Monagri paintings, where there is still a degree of fluidity to the drapery (fig. 44) and a finesse in the drawing and the application of the white highlights; those at Kalopanayiotis seem provincial by comparison. The term "elegance" is used here in a relative sense, for when compared with those at Lagoudera, the Monagri paintings themselves must be described as provincial. Yet they stand considerably closer to those at Lagoudera than to those at Kalopanayiotis.

The fact that the attenuated figure style and rippling drapery conventions that link Monagri to Lagoudera do not appear at either Christ Antiphonites or in the naos of St. Neophytos¹⁷² does not necessarily indicate that the latter are later in date than Monagri, for there was surely more than one artistic current represented in Cyprus at the end of the twelfth century. Thus, the full, ample forms of the figures at Antiphonites¹⁷³ simply reflect a different canon of proportions—one which was seen earlier at Perachorio—rather than mark a new stage in a single stylistic progression.

The faces and hands of the Monagri figures are drawn in red-brown, occasionally in dark brown, in a shaky, unsure hand, especially noticeable in the short, jerky strokes of the features of the face and the thin, spidery hair lines (color figs. C, D).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pls. xx, xxi, 2 and xxii, 1.

¹⁷² The only exception is the rigidly conventionalized windblown end of Christ's mantle in the Anastasis (Mango-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos," fig. 36), but this is a convention that persists throughout the thirteenth century, e.g., at Asinou (in *Archaeologia*, 83 [1933], pl. xcvi, 2 [St. George]) and at Moutoulas (figures of St. George and St. Christopher [unpublished]).

¹⁷³ Papageorghiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. xxxi, 2-3; Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, fig. 75. None of the full-length figures has been reproduced.

The harsh modeling has been reduced to its simplest components, consisting of light ochre flesh tones applied in thick, separate "stripes" over a gray-green proplasmos, often quite dark, which itself is used as the sole means of shadow. Only the faces of the Virgin, the Christ Child, and the angels in the Koimesis are more gradually modeled. White highlights, used so copiously over the drapery, are employed hardly at all on the faces. This robust, linear style corresponds to that described by Lazarev as "le style linéaire exagéré,"¹⁷⁴ which crops up widely in the provincial peripheries of Metropolitan art, especially during the last decades of the twelfth century; in Macedonia, on Mt. Athos, in Russia, and in Cyprus—at Christ Antiphonites and, most prominently, in the naos paintings of St. Neophytos. Indeed, the starkly linear faces of the monastic saints at St. Neophytos¹⁷⁵ provide the closest and most immediate predecessor for the extreme exaggeration, the *reductio ad absurdum*, that epitomizes the technique at Monagri. Yet, except for this specific similarity, there is little to compare between these two monuments, although it is unlikely that they are far apart in date.

Turning to the treatment of background features at Monagri, we find that all superfluous details are eliminated. Thus, the mouflons are omitted from the Nativity, the candlestick from the Baptism, the mourning women from the Koimesis, and the skull from the mound of Golgotha in the Crucifixion. Landscapes are rendered as simplified flat areas of unmodulated color, bound along their contours by a thick band of white (figs. 19, 24, 25).¹⁷⁶ Rocky excrescences are

¹⁷⁴ V. Lazarev, "Les procédés de la stylisation linéaire dans la peinture byzantine des X-XII^e siècles et leurs sources," *XXV congrès international des Orientalistes* (Moscow, 1960), 6, 10-12.

¹⁷⁵ Mango-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos," figs. 38-39. Cf. also the frescoes of Spas Neredica in Russia (K. Miasoedov, *Freski Spasa-Neredica* [Leningrad, 1925], esp. pls. xviii and xxx-xxxx).

¹⁷⁶ Compare the similar handling of the landscape backgrounds at Spas Neredica: Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals* (note 69 *supra*), figs. 102 and 107.

summarily indicated by conventionalized patterns that conform to the smooth contour of the hill.¹⁷⁷ Vegetation is limited to a few flowering plants with leafy stalks and white-petaled flowers with red centers, which are of a fairly common type (fig. 23 and color fig. B). The closest parallels are found in the more graceful plants at Trikomo¹⁷⁸ and, to a lesser degree, in those at Perachorio¹⁷⁹ and Kalopanayiotis.¹⁸⁰ The simplification of forms and the elimination of both the internal modeling of hillsides and other descriptive details distinguish the Monagri paintings from the relatively more naturalistic landscapes at Lagoudera and Christ Antiphonites, where the mountainous backgrounds retain their craggy, rocky contours and a variety of plants and bushes grow around the numerous hillocks.¹⁸¹ On the other hand, the Monagri landscapes do not in any way approach the harsh, rigidly linear forms of the naos paintings at Neophytos, where all relationship to a natural, or even recognizable, setting has been lost.¹⁸²

The architectural backgrounds are rendered as two-dimensional backdrops consisting of simple rectilinear buildings articulated by a limited vocabulary of architectural motifs recurring on each building with little variation: acanthus moldings, sawtooth friezes (set obliquely on the short side in imitation of a corbelled frieze), a kind of simplified billet molding consisting of small circles or squares, conical roofs, and rectangular windows covered by bead-and-reel grilles. The stark simplicity of the buildings offers a sharp contrast to the elaborate and exceptionally detailed structures at Lagoudera; yet, to a certain degree, they share with the latter a basically flat spatial conception.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ Similar conventions are used in the Deposition at St. Neophytos: Mango-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos," fig. 35.

¹⁷⁸ Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. xxii.

¹⁷⁹ Megaw-Hawkins, "Perachorio," fig. 32.

¹⁸⁰ Papageorgiou, Ιδιάλουσαι βυζ. τοιχ., pl. xxiv.

¹⁸¹ Stylianou, Λαγούδερα, pl. 147; a better photograph is reproduced in Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. xxv.

¹⁸² Megaw-Hawkins, "St. Neophytos," figs. 29–31.

¹⁸³ The architecture in the Lagoudera frescoes has recently been the subject of a penetrating study by A. H. S. Megaw, "The Back-

Although a limited degree of spatial recession is exhibited in the two surviving structures behind evangelist figures in the naos (figs. 24, 44)—where both the gabled end and one of the long sides are seen in an angled view, and the roofline rises as it recedes—only on the building behind Mark do the friezes of the long wall join correctly with those of the façade to project the building convincingly into the third dimension. The structure in the northeast recess (fig. 48), while seen in an angled view, is rendered in such a flattened perspective that it resembles a folding screen, an illusion reinforced by the absence of the roof and by the way the bunting disappears over the narrow top to fall behind the wall. The insistent use of bright red bunting, which is draped over the rooflines of every building, is a feature also notable at Lagoudera, where, however, various colors are used.¹⁸⁴ As Megaw has pointed out, this is a not uncommon feature in twelfth-century background architecture; it originated in manuscript illumination, and appears in Cyprus and elsewhere throughout the twelfth century.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it is the frequency with which it appears in Monagri and Lagoudera that is significant, and, together with the common two-dimensional conception of the architectural background, suggests that, despite the obvious differences in the architectural forms as well as in the quality and style, the churches are not so distantly related.

Turning to the architectural background at Kalopanayiotis, we find that the spatial conception of the structures is distinctly more evolved than at Monagri. The evangelist in the northwest pendentive (unpublished) sits in a chair whose deep, curving back projects deep into the picture space in a manner anticipating the more radical spatial innovations ultimately achieved at Sopocani. A strong interest in the three-dimensional rendering of complex structures is especially evident in the scene of the Raising

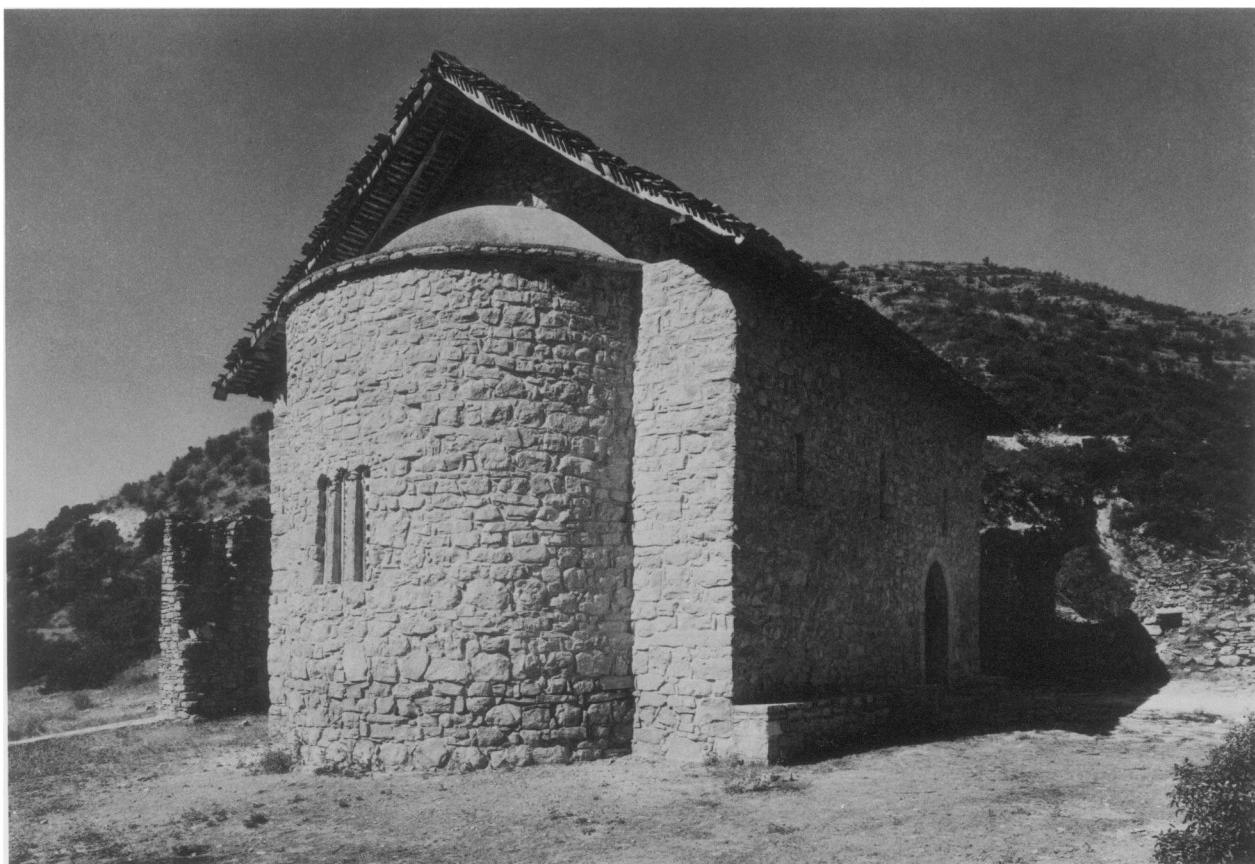
ground Architecture in the Lagoudera Frescoes," *Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 70. Geburtstag* (= JÖB, 21) (Vienna, 1972), 195–201, figs. 1–8.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 1 and 2–8; Stylianou, Λαγούδερα, figs. 145–46.

¹⁸⁵ Examples are listed by Megaw, *ibid.*, 201–2 and note 25.



1. General View from Northeast



2. Exterior from Northeast

Cyprus, Monagri, Church of the Panagia Amasgou

4. Interior, looking West



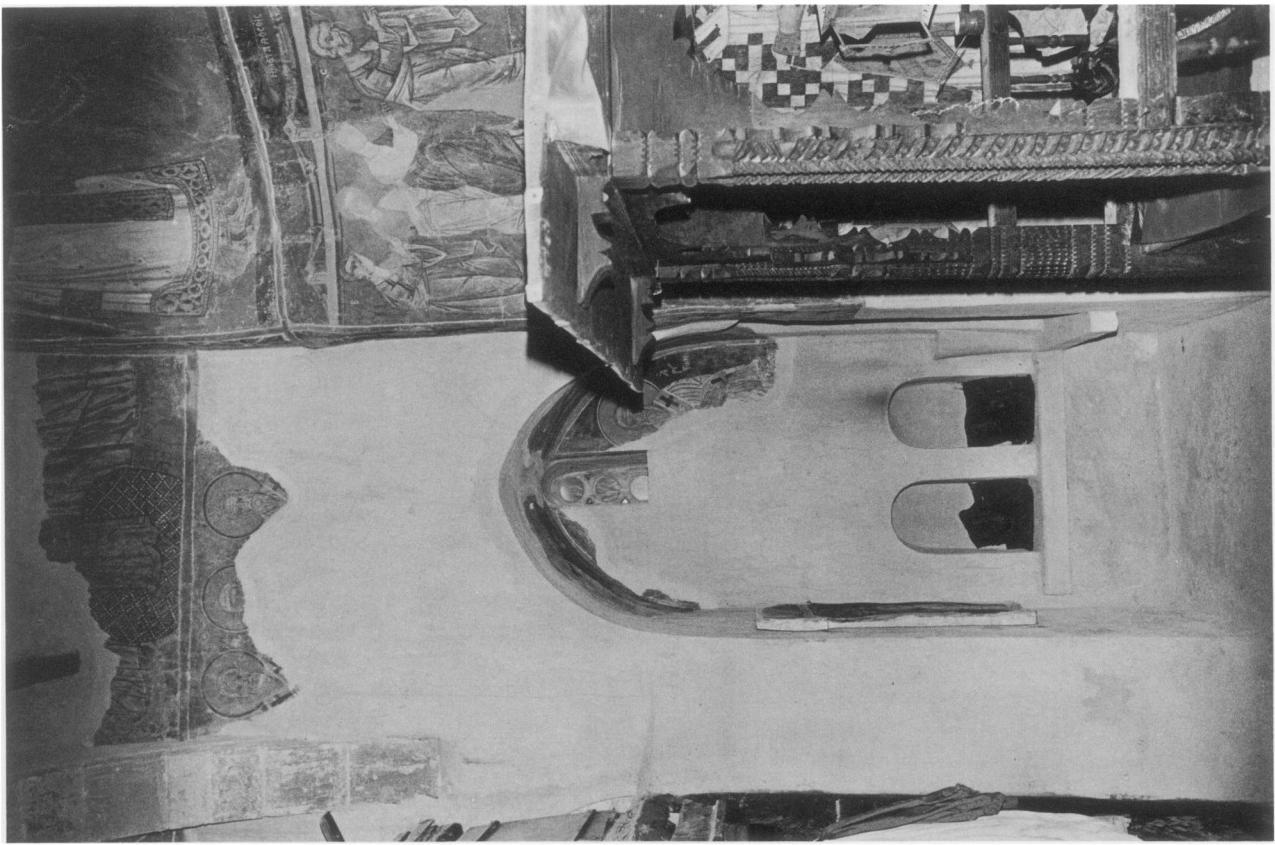
3. Interior, looking East

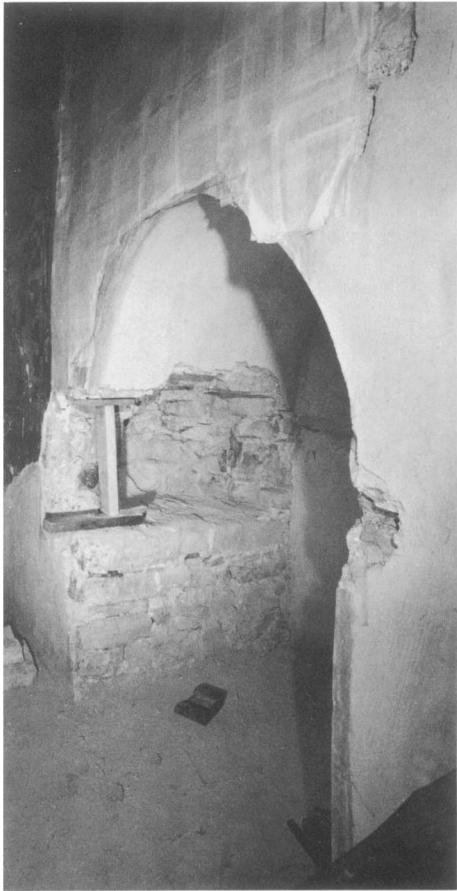


6. Diaconicon, General View, after Restoration

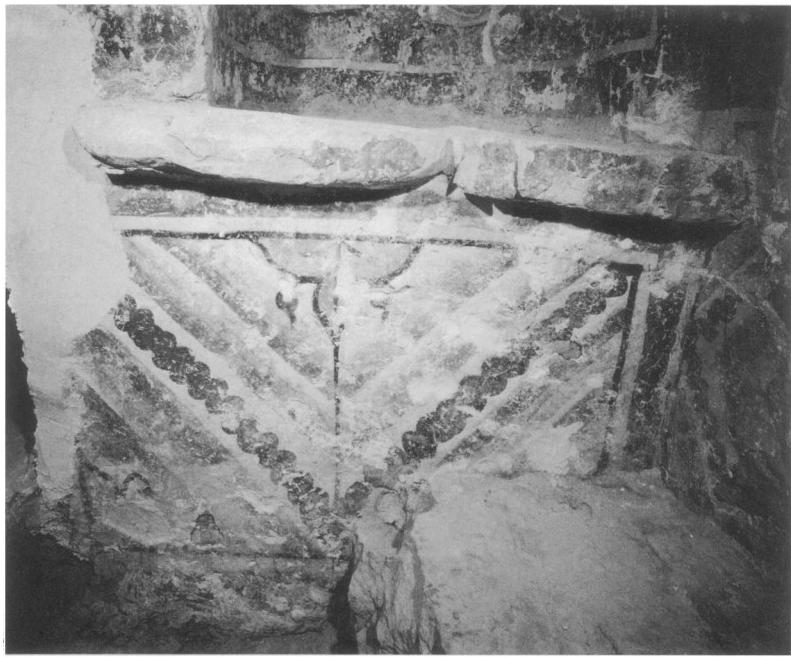


5. Prothesis, General View





7. Diaconicon, Later Niche
being Opened



8. Diaconicon. Twelfth-century Painted Dado,
showing Depth of Original Floor Level



9. Altar, Painted Masonry



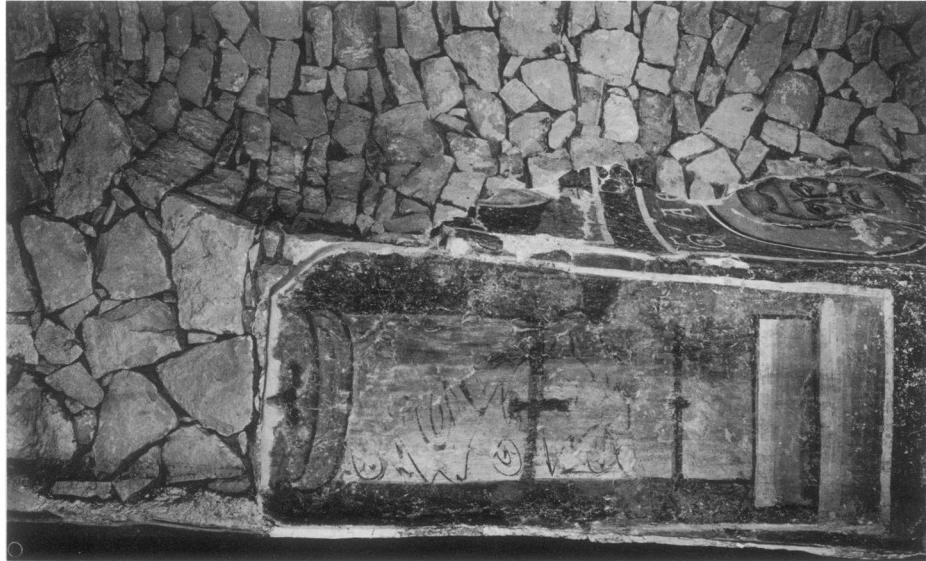
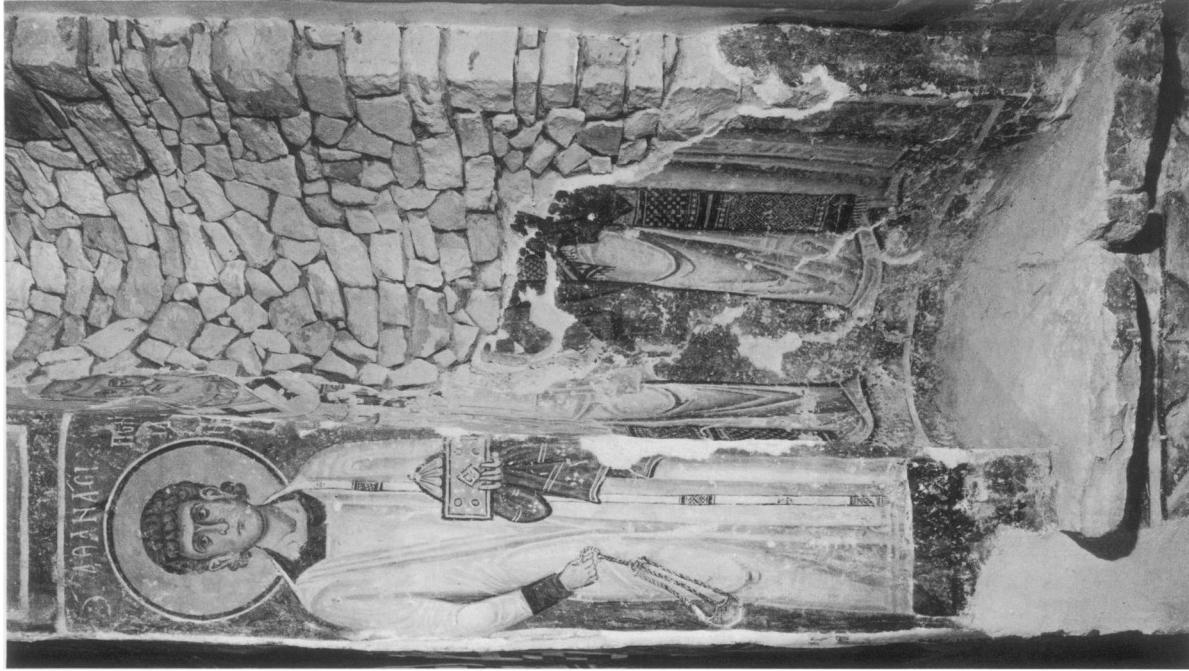
10. St. Spyridon



11. Detail

Apse Window, Lunette, after Toning In

12. Deacon Athanasios Pentaskinos
13. Bishop Athanasios and Fragment of Bishop
Diaconicon, before Toning In



14. Column of Styliite Saint, with
Fresco Fragment in Niche

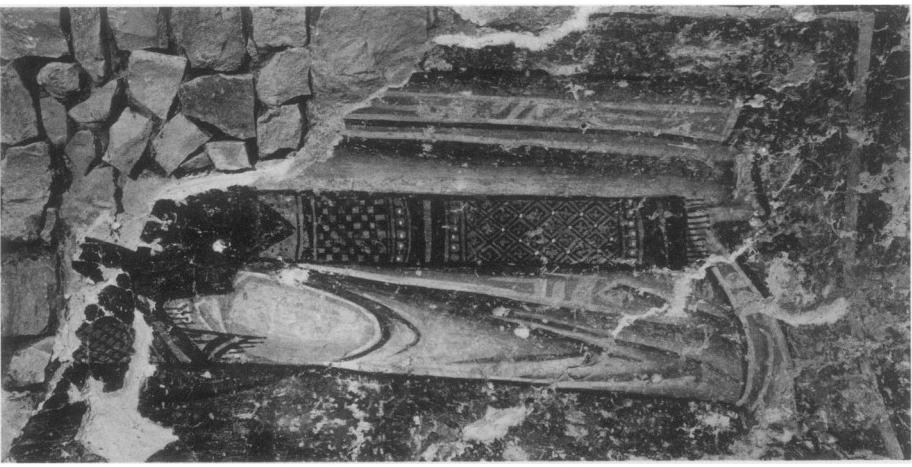
15. Deacon Athanasios Pentaskinos, Detail



16. Bishop Athanasiοs, Detail



17. Unidentified Bishop



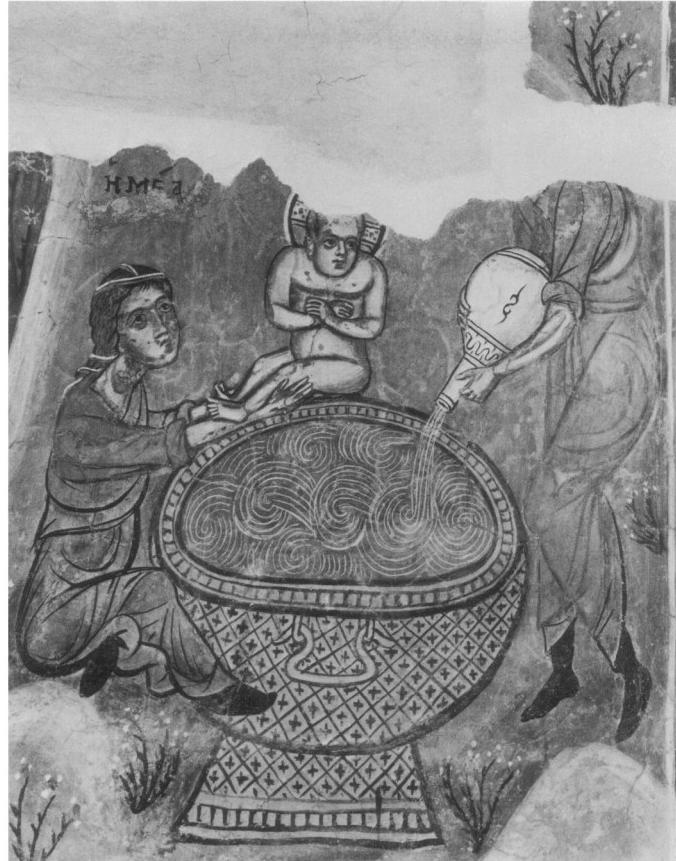
17. Unidentified Bishop
Diaconicon, before Toning In



18. North Wall. The Annunciation



19. South Vault, East Half. The Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple



20. The Bathing of the Child

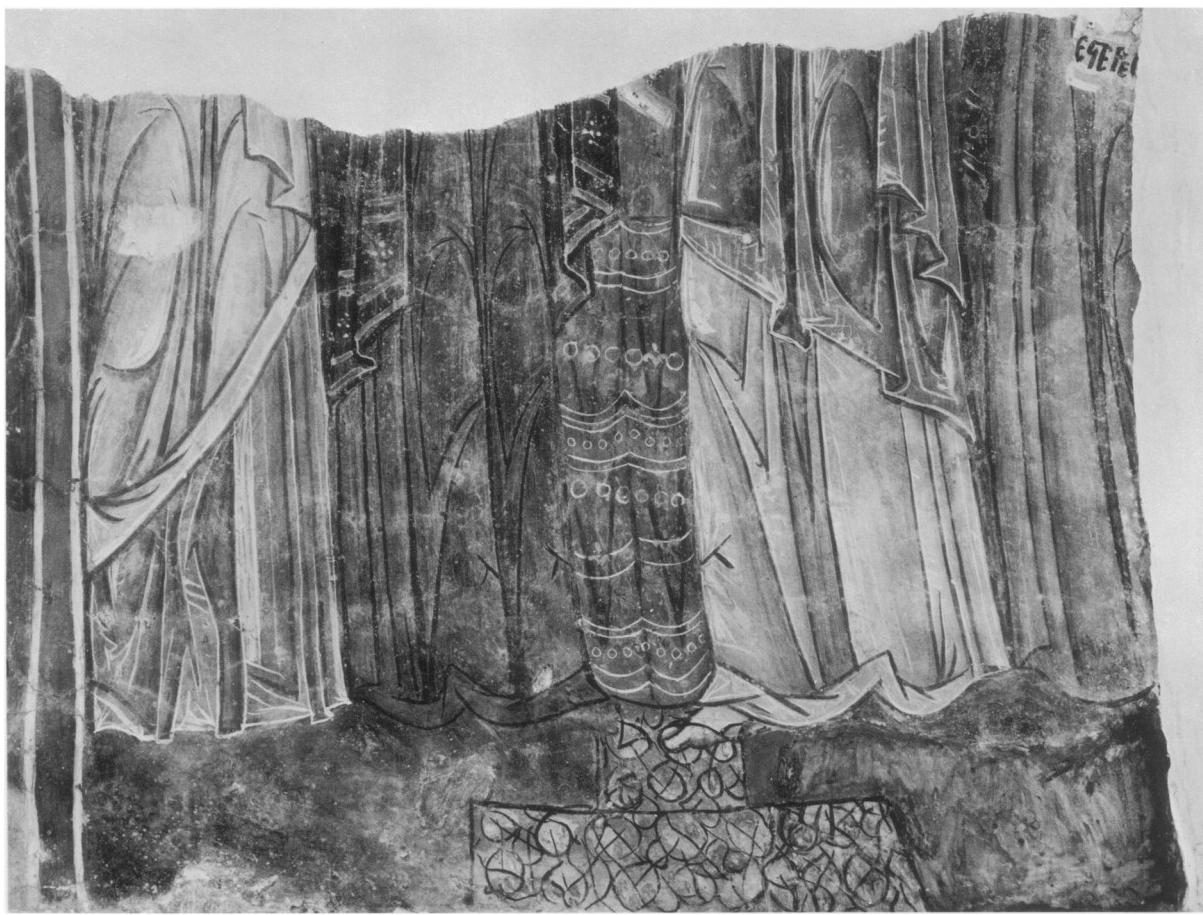


21. Joseph

South Vault, East Half. The Nativity



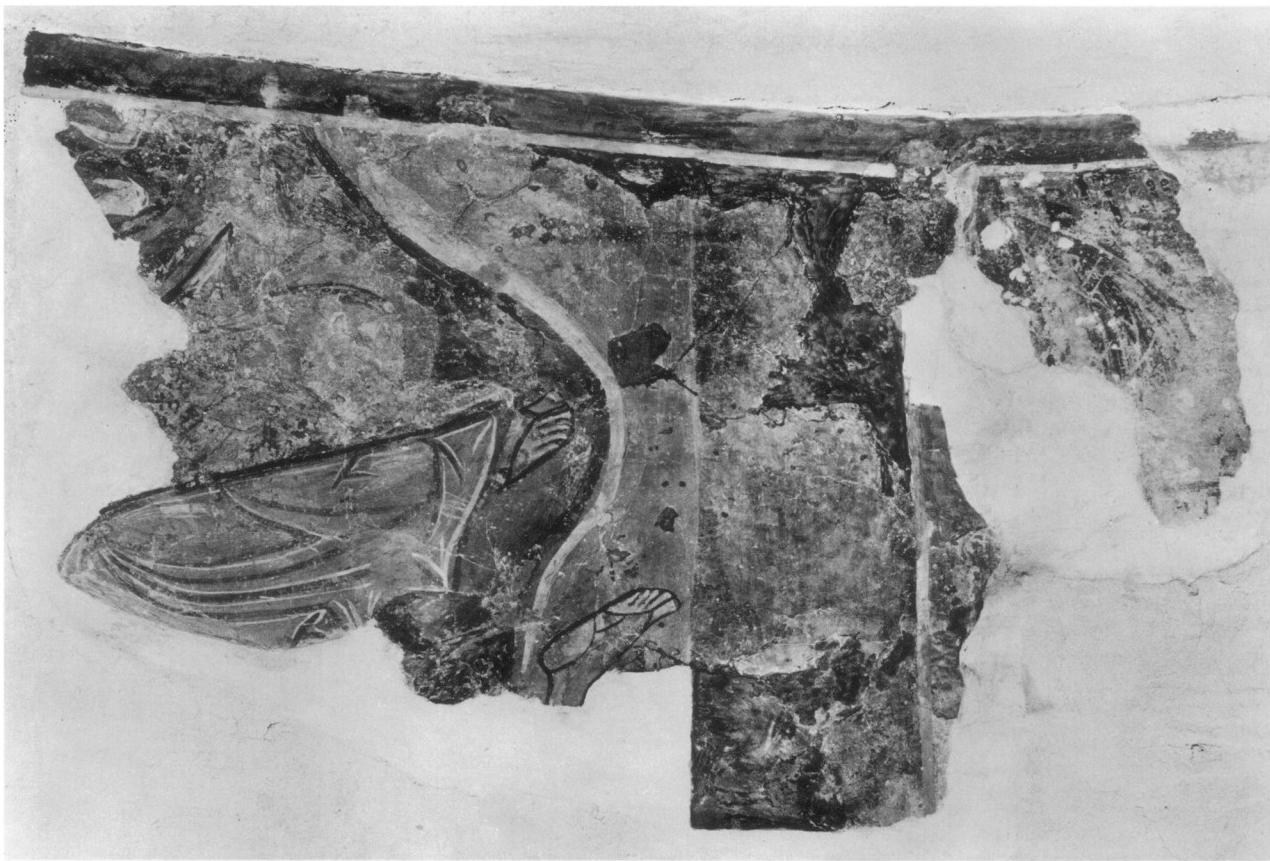
22. Upper Part



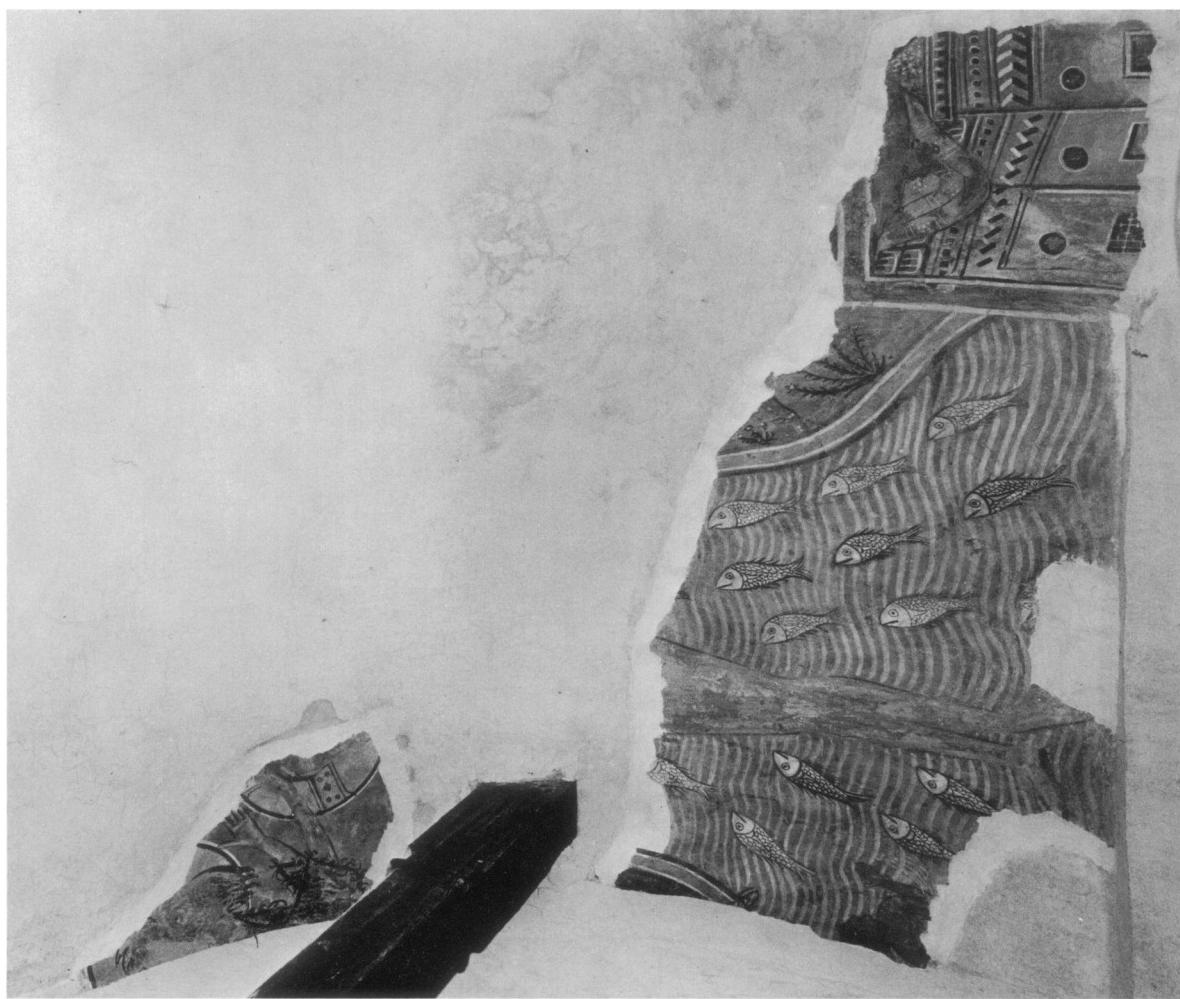
23. Lower Part

South Vault, East Half. The Presentation in the Temple

25. The Transfiguration

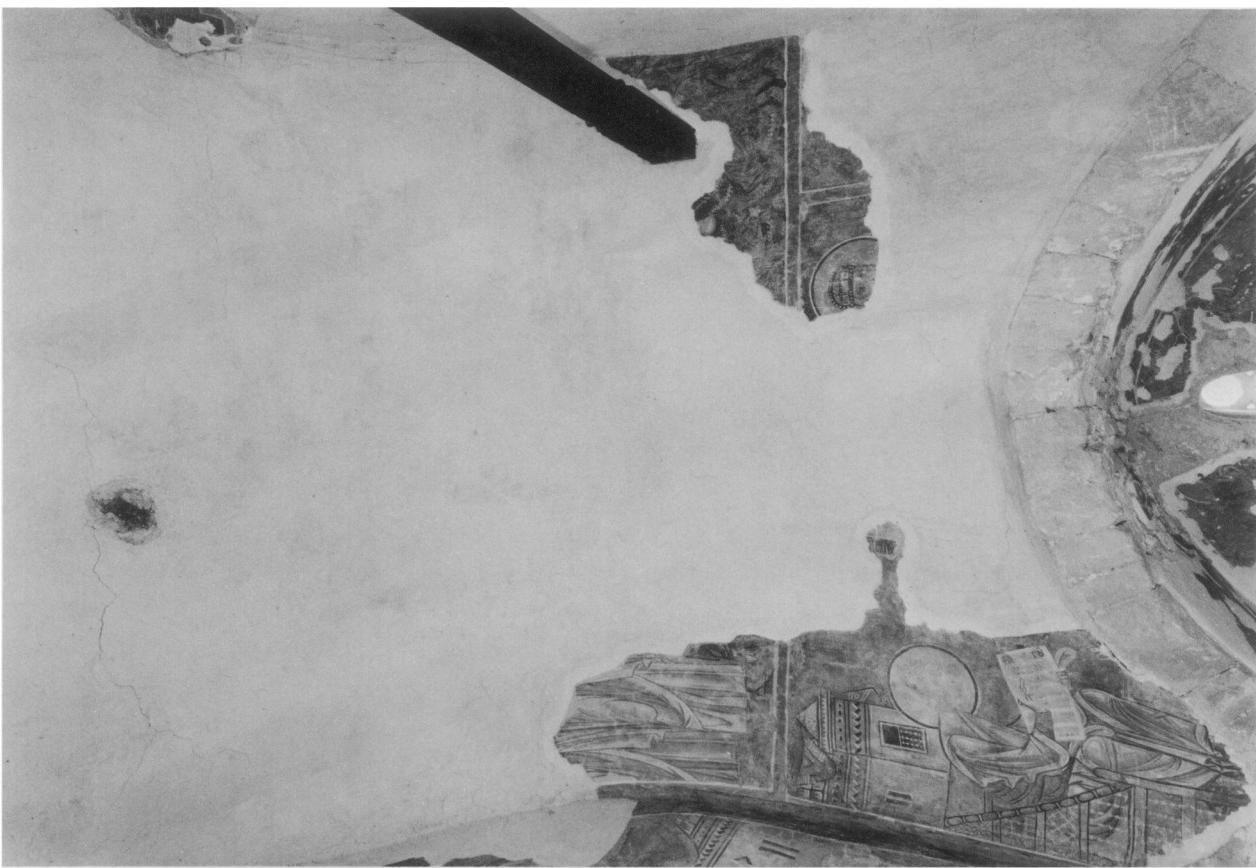


24. The Baptism, with Fragment in Southwest Corner



South Vault, West Half

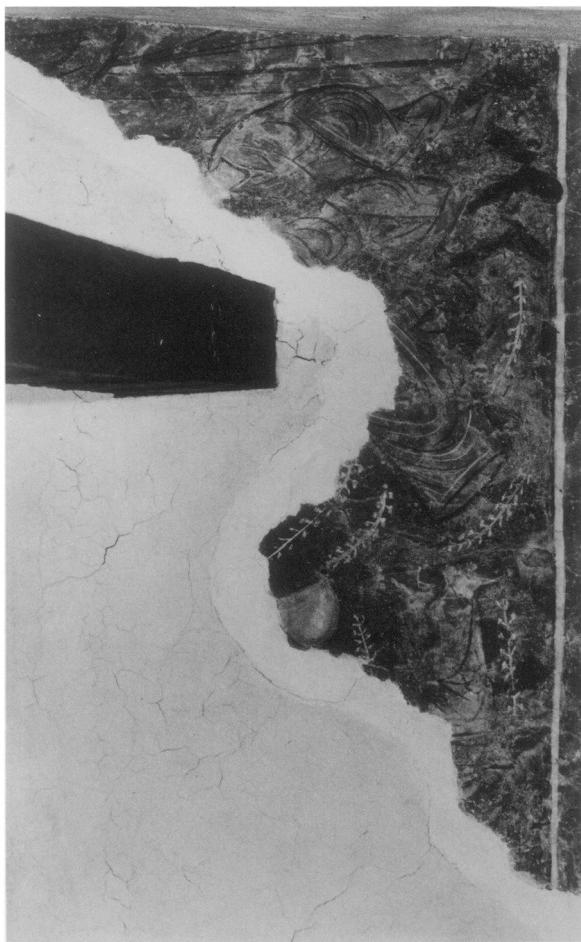
North Vault



26. West Half



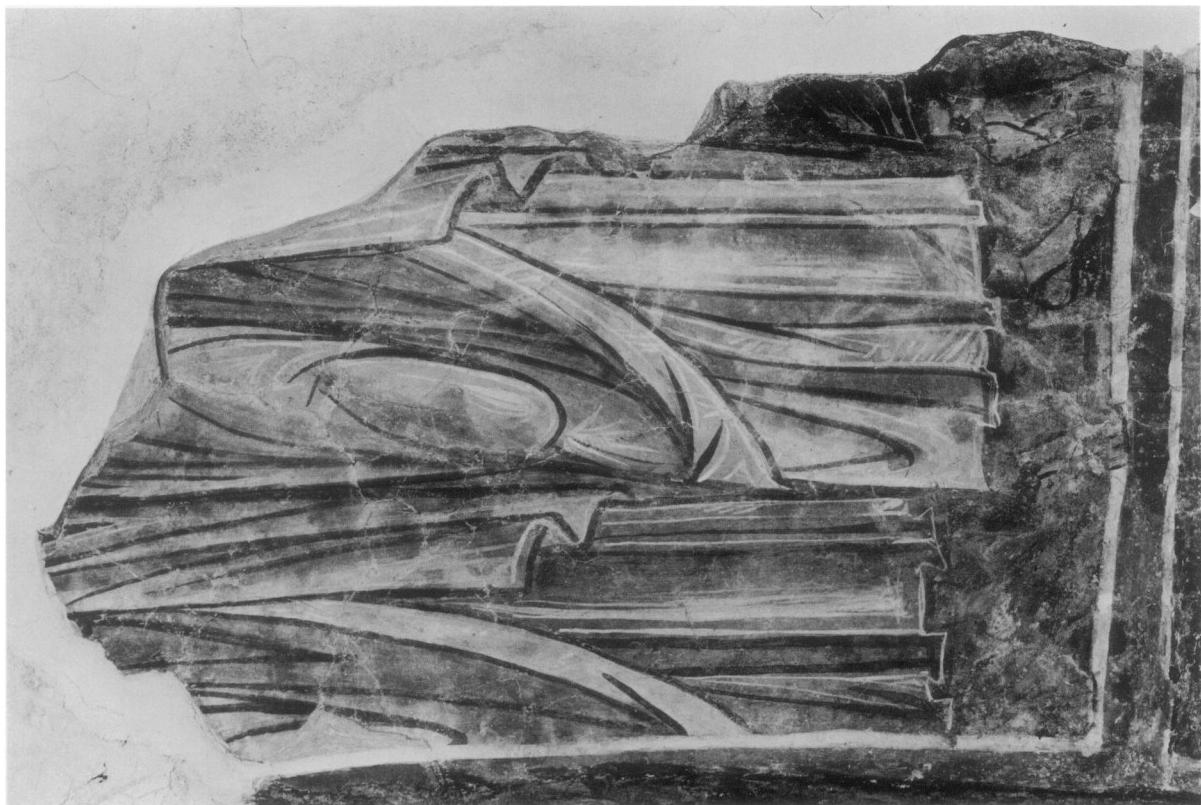
27. East Half



29. The Entry into Jerusalem



30. King David

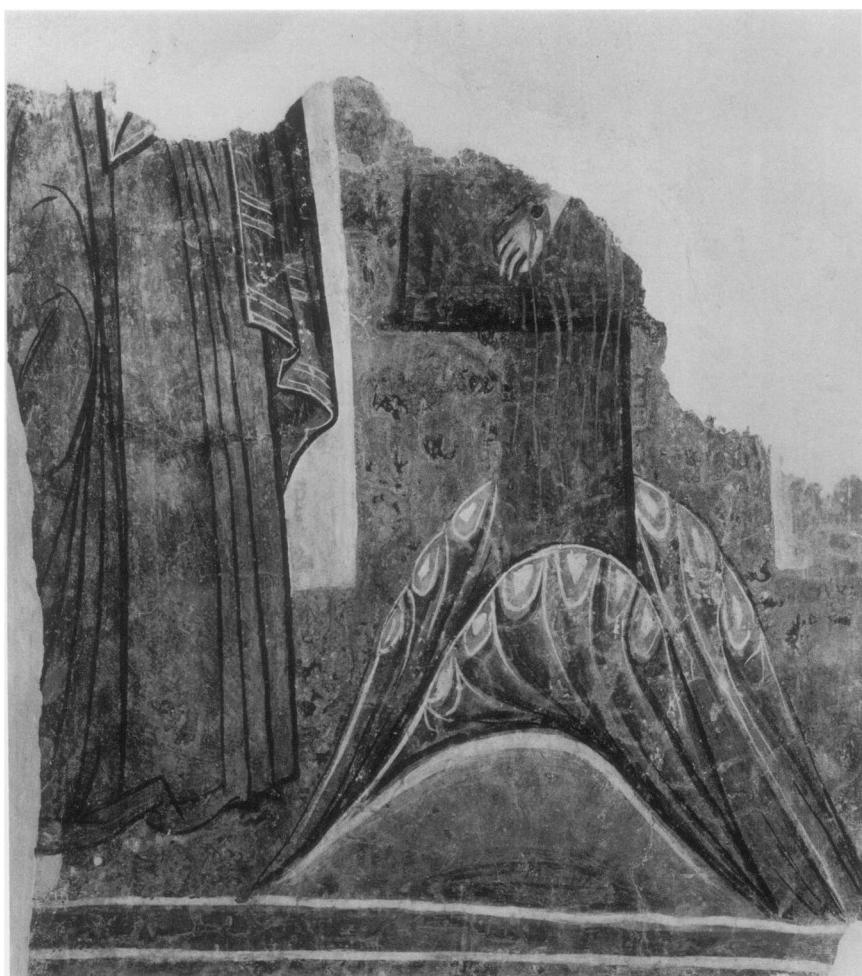


28. The Raising of Lazarus

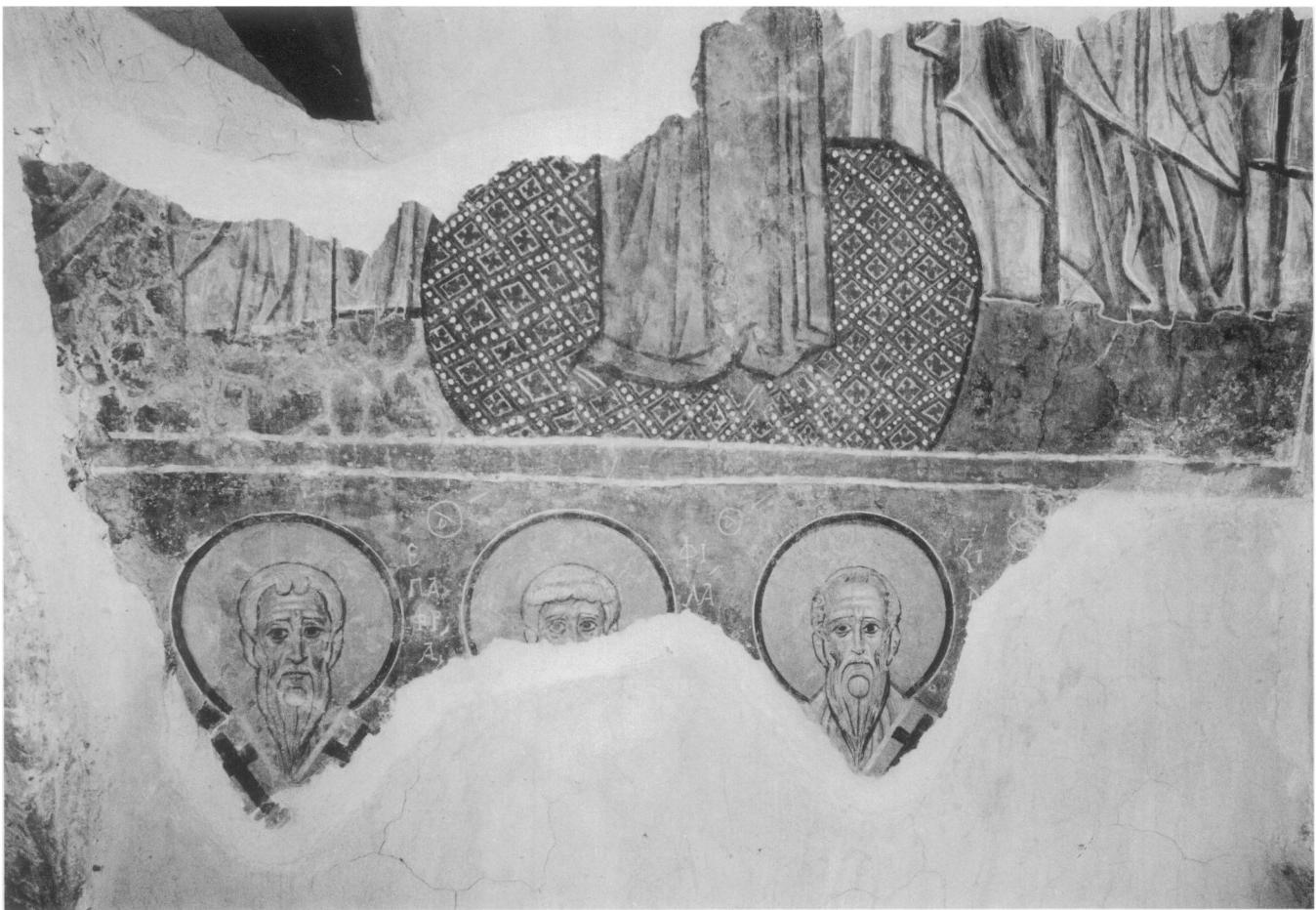
North Vault, West Half



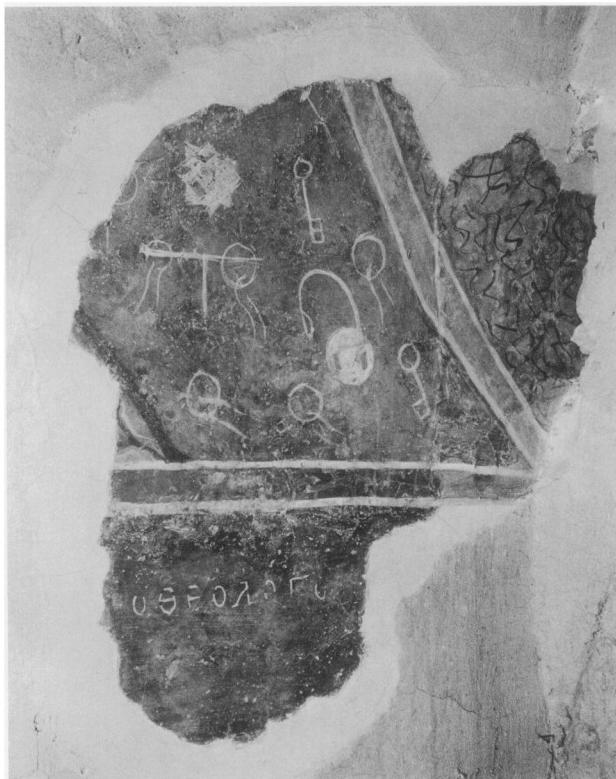
31. Upper Part



32. Lower Part
North Vault, East Half. The Crucifixion



33. Bema, North Wall and Vault. The Ascension and Bishops Epaphras, Philagrios, and Zenon



34. Naos, North Wall and Vault, East Half.
The Anastasis, Detail, the Chasm of Hell



35. Bema, South Vault. The Pentecost



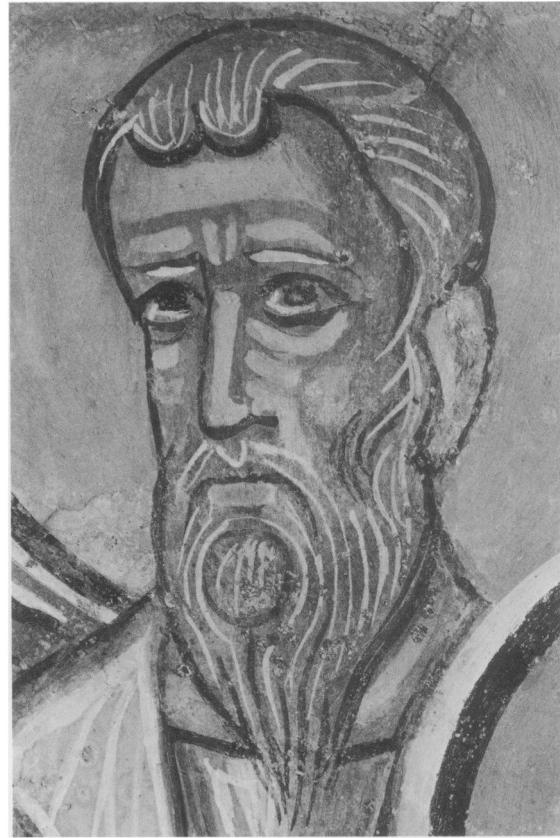
36. St. John



37. St. Peter



38. Kosmos

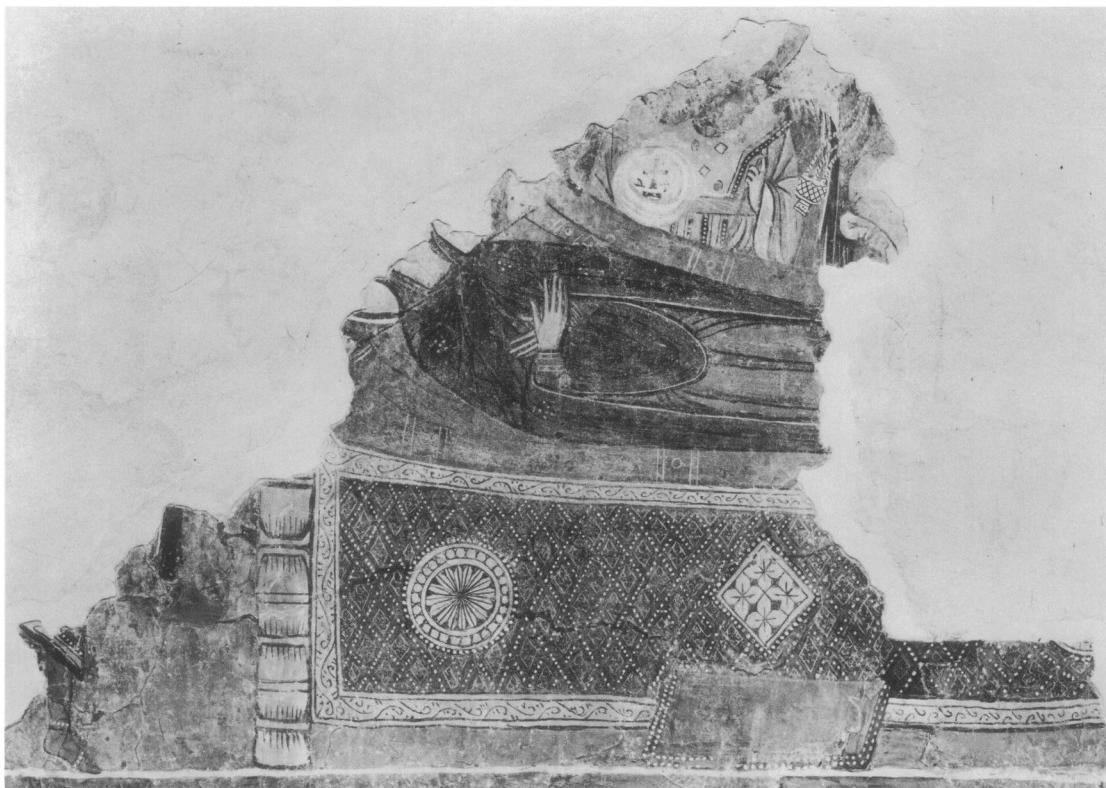


39. St. Matthew

Bema, South Vault. The Pentecost, Details



40. The Koimesis



41. Detail, the Virgin and Two Archangels

West Wall



42. Three Angels



43. Apostles John and Paul

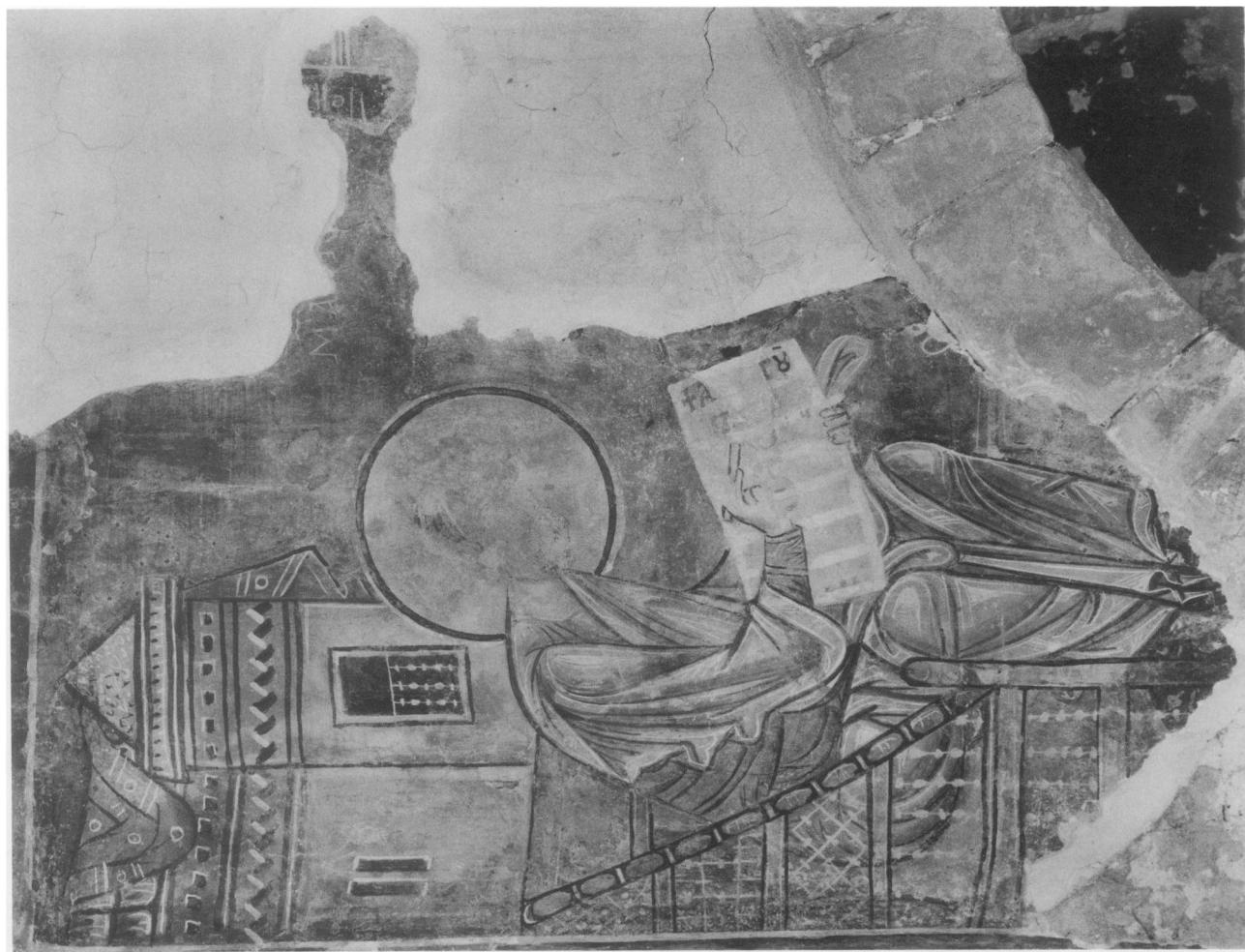
West Wall. The Koimesis. Details

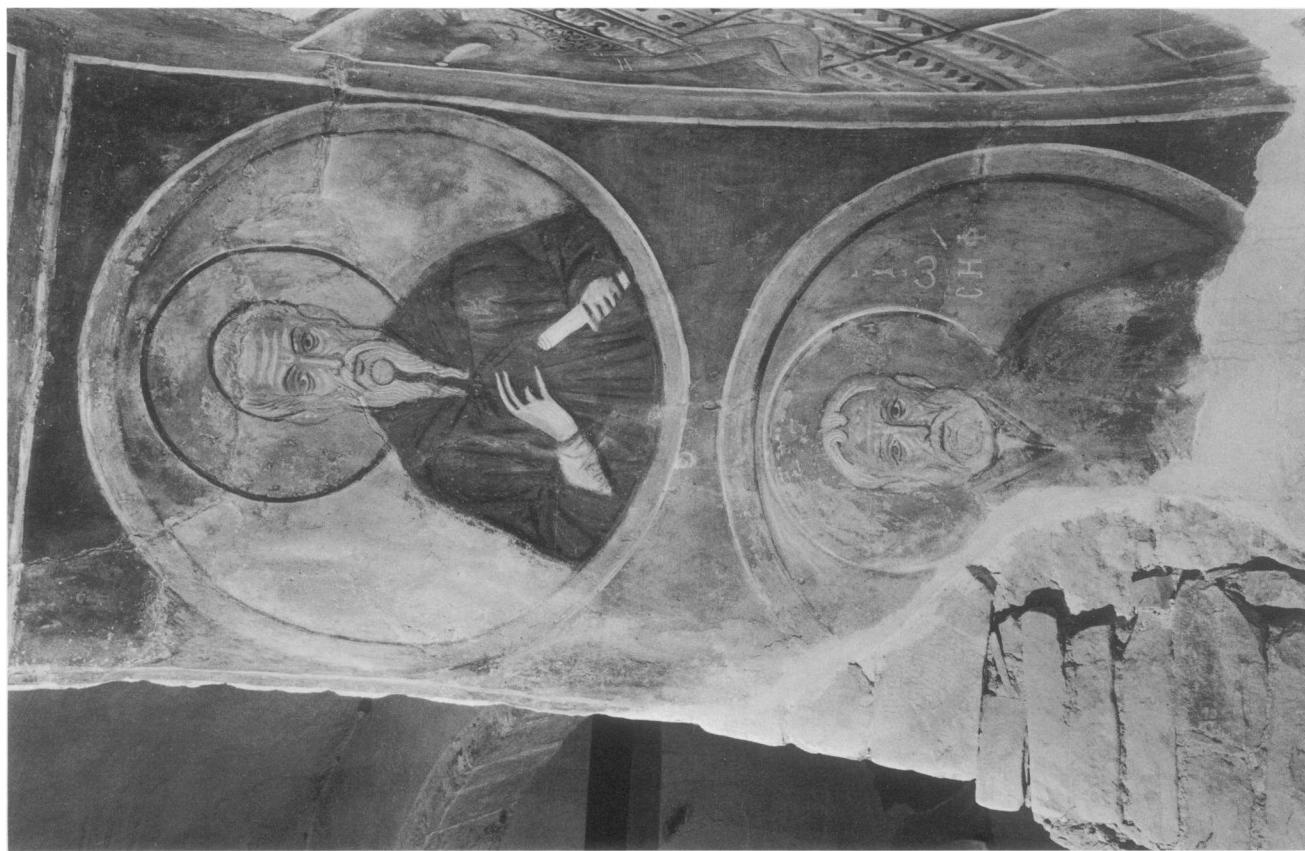
45. Drapery, Detail

North Wall, West Spandrel



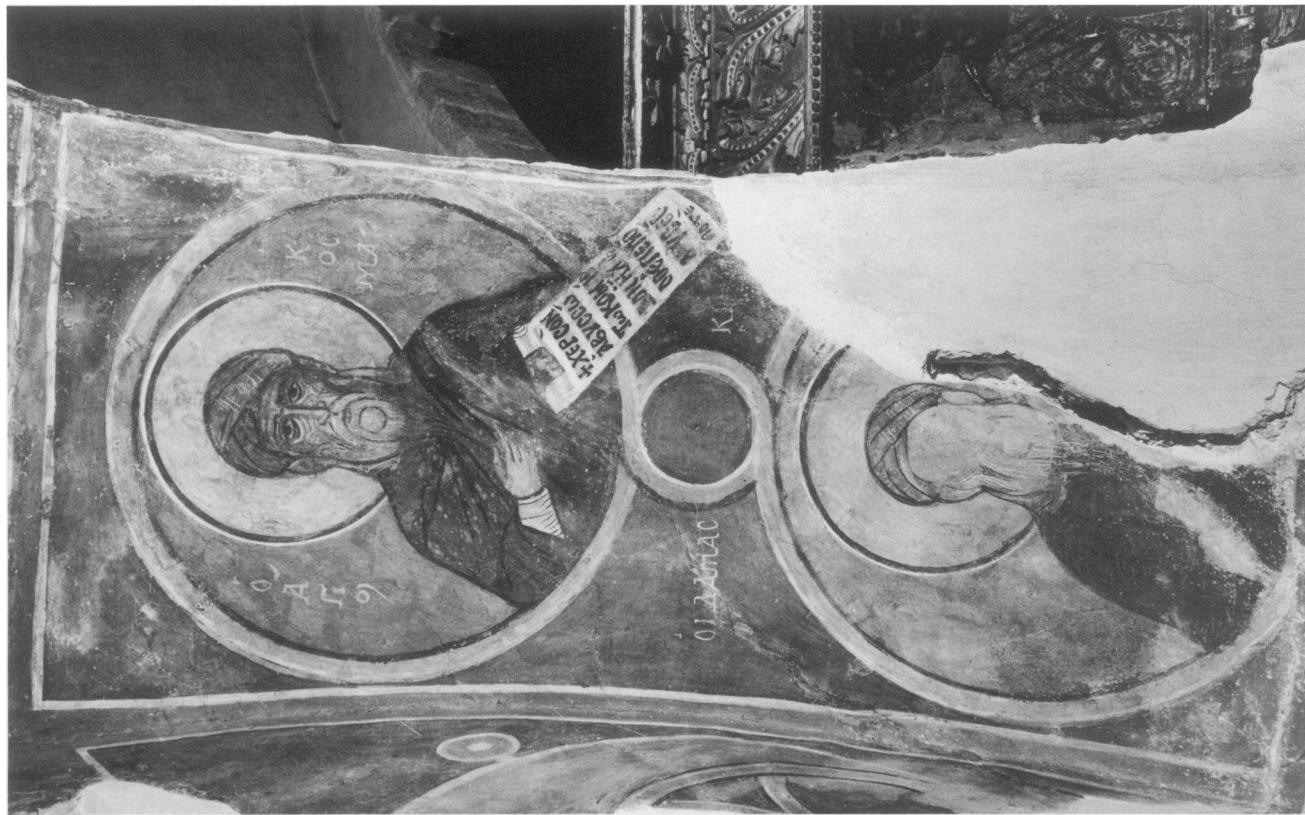
44. Evangelist Mark





47. West Soffit. Unidentified Figure and Joseph

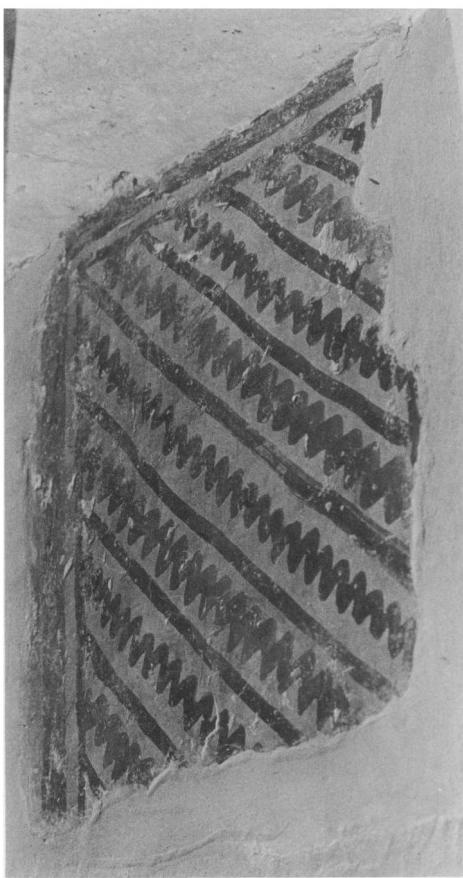
Northeast Recess. Hymnographers



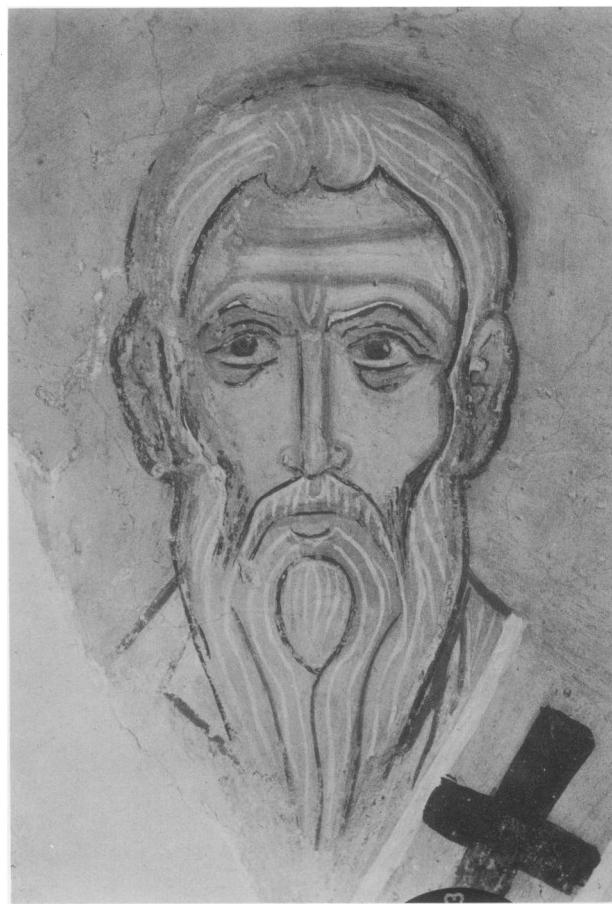
46. East Soffit. Kosmas and John of Damascus



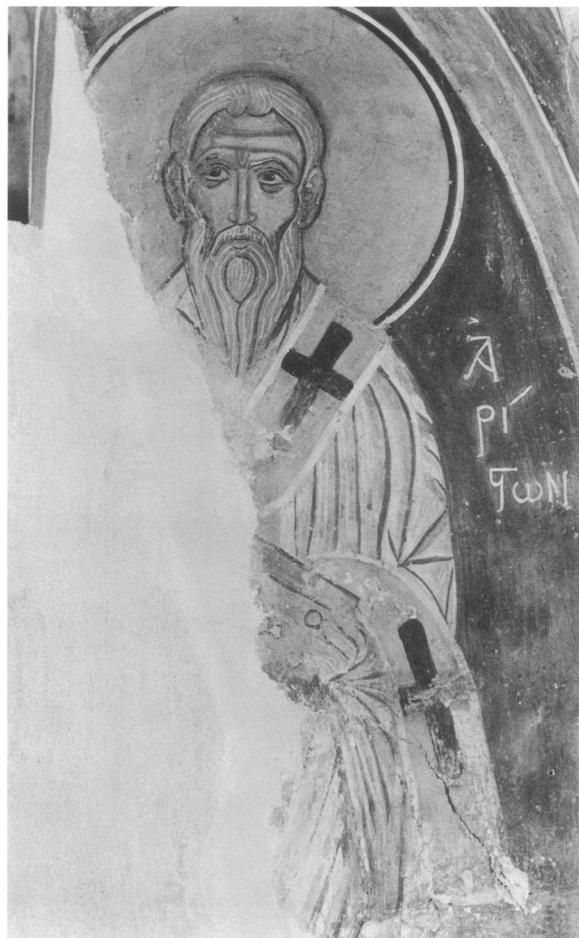
48. Northeast Recess. The Presentation of the Virgin (?)



49. Northeast Recess, Window Reveal.
Painted Ornament



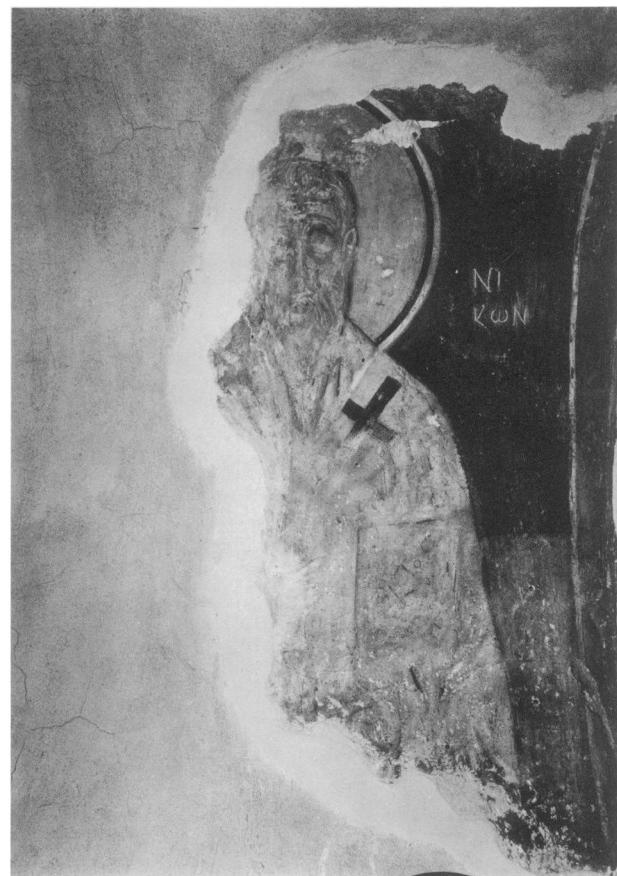
50. Prothesis. Bishop Ariston, Detail



51. Bishop Ariston



52. Unidentified Bishop



53. Bishop Nikon

Prothesis



54. St. Zosimus and Mary the Egyptian



55. St. Zosimus

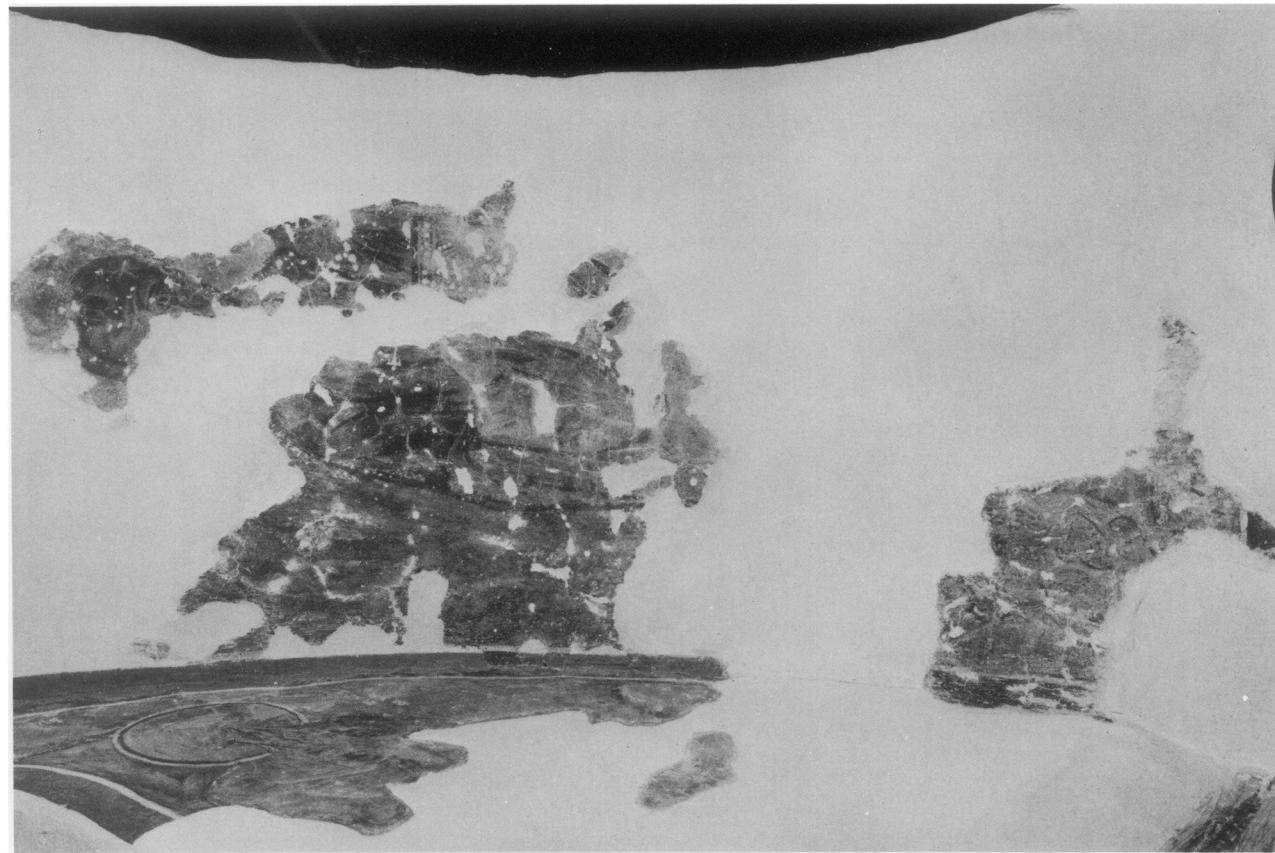


56. Mary the Egyptian

Northwest Recess, Lunette, before Toning In

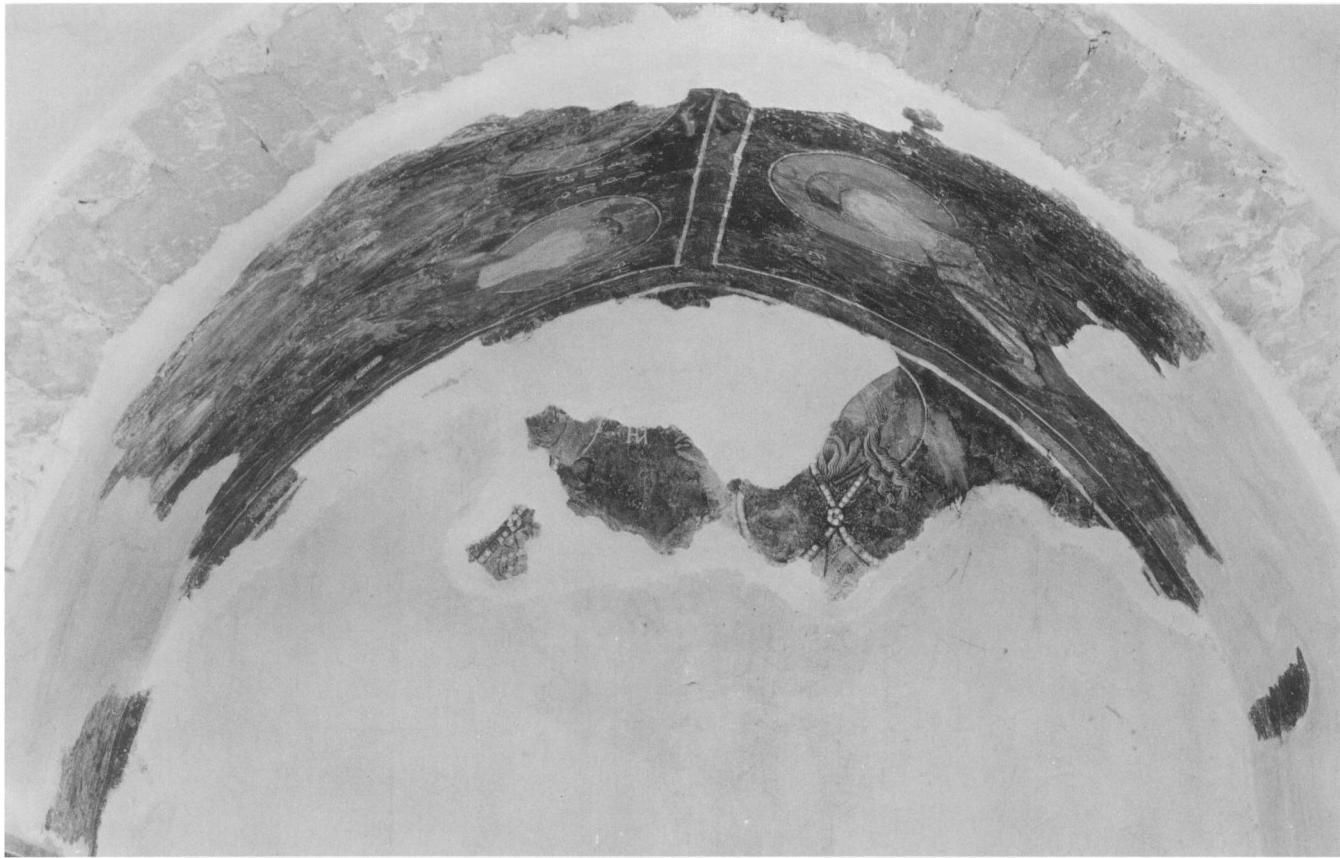


58. West Soffit. Monastic Saint



57. East Soffit. Martyr Saint

Northwest Recess, before Toning In



59. Two Prophets



60. Detail

Southwest Recess, Lunette, after Toning In



62. James, Detail, after Toning In



61. James and Philip, before Toning In



Southwest Recess, East and West Soffits. Apostles

63. Thomas, before Toning In



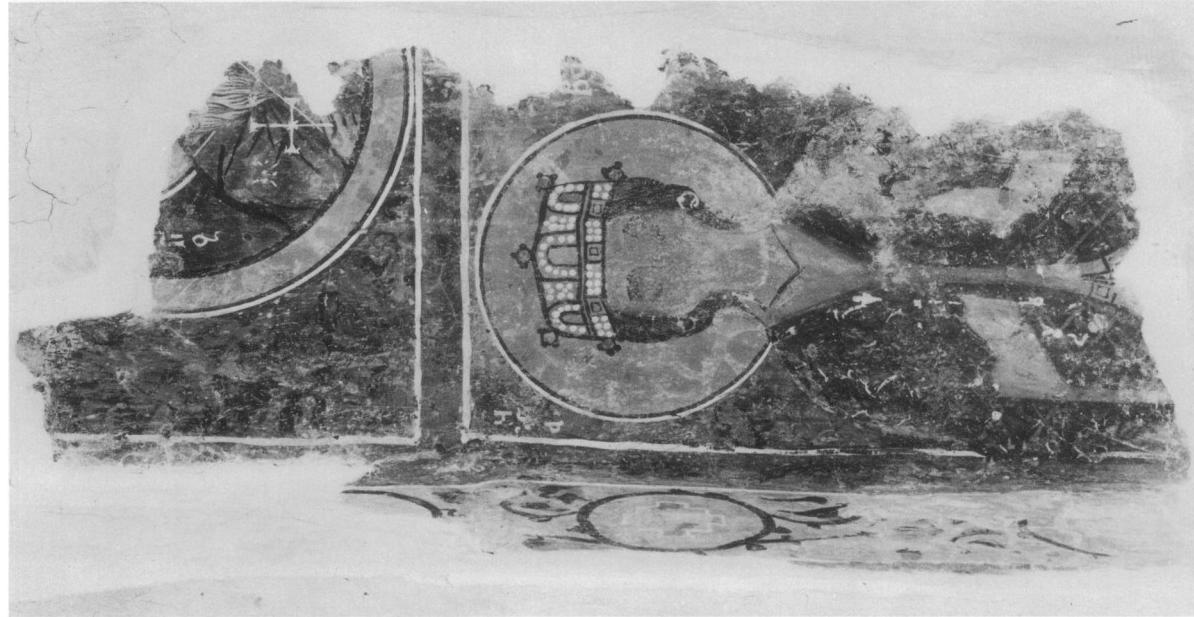
67. Panagia Amasgou. Icon, Female Martyr



65. South Pier, beside Iconostasis. Painted Ornament, before Toning In



66. Southeast Recess. Painted Inscription of 1564, before Toning In



64. West Wall. St. Barbara and Monastic Saint, after Toning In

of Lazarus (unpublished), while even in the Crucifixion and the Entry to Jerusalem, an attempt has been made to make the buildings recede convincingly into space.¹⁸⁶ The use of red bunting is far more discreet, being restricted to the buildings behind the evangelists. The vocabulary of forms is somewhat more elaborate than at Monagri, and while the three-dimensional perspectives are not entirely convincing, it is clear that the artist was working in a tradition whose aims were quite different and more evolved than those at Lagoudera and Monagri. Thus, at Monagri the style of the architectural backgrounds, like the figure style, seems to be intermediate between Lagoudera and Kalopanayiotis, and like the figure style lies, if anything, closer to Lagoudera.

The Monagri palette is bright and clear but not pastel in tone. The usual range of earth colors is used but, because of the overwhelming predominance of red, the frequency of the other colors is proportionately restricted. Green, for example, occurs exclusively in backgrounds, and the pale green commonly found in both twelfth- and thirteenth-century Cypriot painting is conspicuous by its absence. The blue used for backgrounds is deep in tone, while a somewhat brighter hue is used for the Virgin's tunic as well as for garments of other figures, where it is basically unmodulated (color fig. B); however, pale blue, another frequent twelfth-century color, rarely occurs. The use of ochre is relatively restricted, appearing in a pure form on haloes and, exceptionally, on the prophetess Anna's tunic, but lightened with white for Peter's mantle in the Pentecost and elsewhere (color fig. D); mixed with red, it becomes the hot red-orange of the Nativity landscape (color fig. B).¹⁸⁷ Light and dark gray are frequently employed on tunics; used rather less often are olive green, olive brown, two tones of dark purple, and mauve. The prevailing color, however, is red, and the varieties include a brilliant pure scarlet, which, like the bright blue, is not

modulated (color fig. B); an earth red, ranging from dark to light with the latter predominating; and, less frequently, a grayish pink and a pure bright pink. The reds are used on garments, for architectural backgrounds, and, in the Baptism, even for the landscape.

This predilection for reds, especially for light reds and scarlet, is the salient feature of the Monagri paintings, and is what links them firmly and concretely with those of Kalopanayiotis and Moutoullas. It may even be considered one of the few definable characteristics of thirteenth-century Cypriot painting. At Kalopanayiotis, red appears for the first time in place of blue for backgrounds—most dramatically in the scene of the Crucifixion, but also behind certain prophets in the dome (where it alternates with panels of blue), behind the evangelists in the pendentives, and as the ground for many of the single figures on the piers. Because it is so widely used as a background color, it is not employed quite so pervasively for the garments, but is nevertheless a predominant color.¹⁸⁸ At Moutoullas, however, not only does it occur as the backgrounds of most scenes, but reds of all hues, especially the brilliant scarlet, are used with complete abandon for most garments throughout the church and for many subordinate details as well.¹⁸⁹

While red has appeared in monumental painting for the backgrounds of medallions from the early twelfth century on in Cyprus and elsewhere,¹⁹⁰ this is not analogous to its use as a general background color for figures and scenes.¹⁹¹ Red grounds occur for the first

¹⁸⁶ See Megaw-Stylianou, *Byz. Mosaics and Frescoes*, color pls. xix–xxii (Entry to Jerusalem and Ascension, detail).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, color pl. xxiii (St. George, detail).

¹⁸⁸ E.g., at Asinou, St. Chrysostomos, and Lagoudera, among others.

¹⁸⁹ On the use of red grounds in wallpaintings and icons, see the remarks by Papageorghiou, 'Ιδιότυπαι βυζ. τοιχ., 209–10; in addition to the examples cited there, red backgrounds occur in a number of Syrian Manuscripts, e.g., in Vat. Syr. 559 (1220) and in London, Brit. Mus. Add. 7170 (1216–20); Jerphanion, *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559* (note 77 *supra*), color pls. A and C. It is tempting to speculate that such Syrian manuscripts were the source of this distinctive feature of thirteenth-century Cypriot painting.

¹⁸⁶ Papageorghiou, 'Ιδιότυπαι βυζ. τοιχ., pls. xxI and xxIII; Megaw-Stylianou, *Byz. Mosaics and Frescoes*, color pl. xix.

¹⁸⁷ Unfortunately no sample of this color was taken for technical analysis.

time at Kalopanayiotis, and although they are not a feature of the Monagri paintings, the predilection for red, which is such a vivid characteristic, should be viewed as part of the same development. Indeed, the increasingly important role that reds play in the palette of Byzantine painting in Cyprus first becomes noticeable at Lagoudera, where in addition to its appearance as the background color of various medallions (including that of the Pantocrator and the archangels in the dome),¹⁹² it is found on the garments of a large number of the prophets. Moreover, the vivid scarlet which dominates the Monagri palette also begins to make itself felt, and is used for the sticharion of the Archangel Michael (in the naos) and for the maphorion of the Virgin Arakiotissa next to him.¹⁹³ On the other hand, the color is used discreetly for the architectural backgrounds, and not at all in the landscapes. At Christ Antiphonites, however, pink is used in the landscape of the Baptism (as it is at Monagri), and vivid scarlet appears on the sticharion of the Archangel Gabriel in the apse. A peculiarity of these paintings is the exaggerated use of red highlights on faces.¹⁹⁴ That this growing emphasis on reds is not an isolated Cypriot phenomenon is indicated by the late-twelfth-century paintings in the Latmos caves, particularly those of Christos and Paul, where the color begins to dominate,¹⁹⁵ and by a number of early thirteenth-century Syrian manuscripts (cited in note 191 *supra*) where red backgrounds are used for both feast scenes and evangelist portraits. The paintings at Monagri are pivotal in that they mark a distinct shift from the palette common in late twelfth-century churches to one in which reds clearly begin to predominate; and it is this insistent use of the color, repetitively and monotonously in garments of figures, as well as in both landscape and architectural features, that places these frescoes definitively in the orbit of thirteenth-century painting. Within the group of Cypriot paintings discussed above,

¹⁹² Megaw-Stylianou, *Byz. Mosaics and Frescoes*, color pl. XIV (before cleaning).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, color pl. XVIII.

¹⁹⁴ Noted by Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, 156.

¹⁹⁵ Wulff, *Latmos*, 214–15, and color pls. III–IV (Paul Cave), and VI–VII (Christ Cave).

therefore, Monagri again occupies an intermediate position: in its overall use of red it is considerably further advanced than Lagoudera, but by no means as advanced as Kalopanayiotis.

Except for the use of red, the colors at Monagri tend to be handled conservatively, with considerable duplication within a given scene. Almost no use is made of complementary colors in the shading, with the exception of red-brown on ochre. Thus, the tonal system is one that is based almost exclusively on darker and lighter tones of the local color, rather than the more sophisticated but common system of complementary tones, found at both Lagoudera and Kalopanayiotis. Moreover, although white is used extensively as a highlight, in those areas where it is applied as a wash it is very dilute so that a strong chiaroscuro effect is avoided. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of brilliant areas of scarlet and bright blue on the same figure, or the placing of a light red figure against an orange ground—so striking in the Nativity—reveals a bold and progressive coloristic intent.

The evidence of the style and the iconography points, then, to a position for Monagri intermediate between Lagoudera, dated 1192, and Kalopanayiotis, attributed to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The fact that there are no specifically late features in the iconography or the style indicates that there is no compelling reason to date the paintings very late in the thirteenth century. The latest iconographic motifs, in particular the latticework chair, have concrete parallels in the first two decades of the thirteenth century. The figure style and architectural backgrounds have been shown to have stronger ties to the paintings of Lagoudera and St. Neophytos than to those of Kalopanayiotis. Finally, the important and distinctive use of red, while more advanced than at Lagoudera or Christ Antiphonites, again lies closer to these earlier churches than to Kalopanayiotis. For these reasons, a date in the first quarter of the thirteenth century is suggested for the Monagri paintings.

A final comment concerns the relationship of the Monagri paintings to certain manu-

scripts belonging to the group known as the "Nicaea School," a series of manuscripts which range in date from the last decades of the twelfth to the first decades of the thirteenth century. It seems useful here to emphasize the fact that a number of parallels have been cited for both iconographic and stylistic questions (Phillips cod. 3887, Dionysiou cod. 23, Lavra B 26, Harley 1810), and, but for the limited scope of this paper, additional comparisons could readily have been cited for common elements of style. Of considerable interest in this respect, is the fact that Annemarie Carr, in her unpublished doctoral dissertation on the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament,^{195a} has made similar observations about the Monagri paintings, and in addition, has discussed the even closer relationships of the manuscripts to the paintings at Lagoudera. Given the number of unresolved problems—of chronology and localization—of this large group of manuscripts, it would be premature at the present time to press for any conclusions regarding these relationships, but it is clear that they merit further investigation.

PERIOD III

With the exception of a bit of painted ornament on the south pier adjacent to the iconostasis, the few wallpaintings belonging to the third period of decoration are in the western bays of the church; they are confined to the upper zones of the two western recesses and the lower part of the west wall south of the door. The frescoes are fragmentary, in poor condition, and, despite a partial cleaning, they are streaked by the filmy deposit of salts leached out by moisture in the walls which obscures the colors and softens the outlines; in addition, numerous small losses pock the surfaces. The paintings include the scene of St. Zosimus and Mary the Egyptian, an as yet unidentified scene with two prophets or Old Testament kings, and five full-length standing figures of saints which decorate the soffits of the recess arches. Saint Barbara is depicted on the west wall and above her, in a fragmentary roundel, is the half-figure of a monastic saint.

Where the ground is preserved, the figures stand on a lower zone of green ground and before an upper ground of what must be azurite, which in most areas has oxidized to green. The figures are all nimbed, and their dark ochre nimbi, of distinctly brownish hue, are edged on the circumference with an outer white and inner brown line.

The mutilated composition of *St. Zosimos Bringing the Last Communion to Mary the Egyptian* in the lunette of the northwest recess is divided into two halves by the narrow window above the door (figs. 54, 55, 56). The panel was originally 0.97 m. by 2.16 m., and is now made up of two large fragments and a number of small isolated patches of fresco.

In the left spandrel is the full-length figure of Bishop Zosimus (fig. 55), who is shown bringing the Eucharist to Mary in the opposite spandrel. In his left hand, which is wrapped in his mantle, he holds a large brownish ochre chalice decorated with pearls. In his right hand, of which little survives, he held the spoon for the bread. Most of his face is lost, but he had short, gray hair and a medium-length beard, the hair lines being drawn alternately in white and dark brown against a gray ground. The flesh tones are brownish ochre with darker shadows and thick creamy highlights, rather carelessly applied; a few strokes of scarlet accent the lips and cheek. He wears a dark, red-brown mantle with thick black contour and fold-lines; it is shaded with thinly applied black shadows and dilute gray highlights. His omophorion is bright earth red,¹⁹⁶ edged with black, and on each shoulder it has a slender black cross with rounded arms and short diagonal lines at the intersection of the arms. He stands on a brownish ochre ground representing the desert landscape, on which traces of plants may be made out, while the upper background is blue.

Facing him on the right spandrel is Mary the Egyptian (fig. 56), identified by an inscription written vertically on either side of her head: η|[ξ]|γι|α | Ma|[ρι]|α || η | ε|γιττι|α. Her wasted figure is shown almost in profile, her hands extended before her, palms up, to receive the Communion.

^{195a} For reference, see note 74 *supra*.

¹⁹⁶ See Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart C.5.

Exceptionally, her arms and hands are outlined in dark red to make the gesture stand out. Over her shoulders is thrown a dark olive green mantle, leaving uncovered most of her emaciated body, which is covered with short tufts of black hair. Her unkempt, gray hair hangs in three long strands onto her shoulders. Little of her face has survived except the cheek and jawline, but its age and gauntness is emphasized by the vigorous modeling in tones of dark ochre. Although the area beneath her feet is missing, the desert landscape continues behind her, rising sharply at the right to a rocky escarpment, highlighted with a broad creamy area and shaded with black hatching.

The subject of Zosimos and Mary the Egyptian is frequently found in Cypriot churches, appearing notably at Asinou, Lagoudera, and St. Demetrianos at Dhali, as well as in a considerable number of later churches.¹⁹⁷ While the eucharistic connotation of the subject makes the bema its most appropriate location (as at Asinou and Dhali), it is also found elsewhere (as in the west bay of the naos at Lagoudera).

On the east soffit of the recess is the figure of an unidentified *standing saint*, preserved on three fragments to a total height of 1.72 m. and a maximum width of 52 cm. (fig. 57). Except for the hemline of his tunic, the lower third of the figure is lost as is the lower right quarter of his face. Standing frontally, he holds in his right hand a slender, white cross of martyrdom, its only preserved arm terminating in seriph and a circle. In his left hand, he holds a book with red pages and an ochre cover decorated with an overall pattern (very damaged) in black; the cover has a pearled border and is set with green and red jewels between intersecting diagonal bands of pearls. He has short, thin, brown hair parted in the center and combed to the side, with two locks falling over his high domical forehead, and a sparse, brown beard. The skin tones are dark tan painted over the ochre ground of the halo. The volumes of his gaunt face are boldly modeled by means of

brown shadow and thinly applied green, highlighted with rapid strokes of cream. His almond-shaped eyes, which gaze directly ahead, are drawn in detail. He wears a long, warm brown tunic and a red-brown mantle, whose outline and deep shadows are black, applied in thick brush-strokes, as are the gray highlights; intermediate tones are achieved by thinly applied black. The mantle is fastened in front, falling down to the waist where it separates into two deep folds as it is pulled over each arm.

Facing him on the west soffit is a *monastic saint*, preserved on three separate fragments from his pointed gray beard to the hem of his tunic, for a total height of 1.385 m. (fig. 58). The condition is poor, with areas of loss including most of his head, shoulders, arms, and hands, and the colors are dulled by a film of salts. He stands frontally, dressed in a monastic habit. His dark brown mantle, which was fastened over his chest, hangs in a deep fold in front and is pulled over the arms to hang down in back to well below the knees, where its border is decorated with double white lines. A blue-black scapular hangs down the front, beneath the mantle, and its wide hem is embroidered with a narrow band of X's between double white lines; above this were three eight-pointed stars, of which only the central one is intact. Two knotted black cords are visible hanging from the waist beneath the scapular. His tunic is a warm yellow-brown (tan), highlighted with a lighter tone and shaded with two tones of red-brown. It falls in straight vertical folds to the ground, with no indication of his knees.

In the southwest recess only a small area at the top of the lunette survives (maximum height 54 cm.), which includes fragments of two figures standing frontally but turning their heads toward each other (figs. 59, 60). Both figures are nimbed and wear the priestly robes of Old Testament kings. Only parts of their heads and the upper half of the figures are preserved and these are severely damaged, with deep gouges and pitting on the surface and losses of paint overall. The blue ground,¹⁹⁸ however, is especially well preserved here.

¹⁹⁷ For the later examples, see Sacopoulou, *Asinou* (note 27 *supra*), 67–68.

¹⁹⁸ See Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart C.3.

The figure in the best condition is the older man at the right, for whom no inscription survives (fig. 60). He has very long, gray hair, falling in two twisting strands onto his left shoulder, and a rather short, pointed, gray beard with the hairlines crisply drawn in dark brown and white against a gray ground. The dark ochre skin tones are built up over the yellow ground of the halo and his prominent cheekbones are set into relief by creamy highlights; the lips are precisely drawn in red-brown. His right arm is raised and extended to his right, the hand pointing upward in the gesture of prophecy. He wears the traditional scarlet *lacerna*, which is edged with a narrow, ochre border set with enormous, white pearls and green and red stones from which most of the paint has been lost. It is fastened in front with a large, circular clasp also set with pearls, and then is pulled evenly up over the crook of each arm to fall down behind. Beneath this he wears a long-sleeved, yellow-ochre tunic embroidered in an overall dark brown, vermiculated design, which is spottily preserved.

Facing him is a youthful, beardless figure, for whom only the last two letters of his name are preserved: ΗΛ. Daniel seems the most likely candidate, but Joel is another possibility. So little of the figure is preserved that the most one can say is that he was dressed identically to the older prophet, wearing a scarlet *lacerna* with pearly border and an ochre tunic.

On the east soffit of the arch are two full-length standing figures, the Apostles *James* and *Philip*, inscribed vertically along the side of the head: [δ ἄγιος] || Ἰάκωβος and δ ἄγιος || Φίλιππος (fig. 61). The panel is preserved to its full height of 1.77 m. Both the figures are lost from the knees down, and are further damaged by large losses of plaster including most of Philip's head. The apostles stand frontally, holding closed scrolls vertically in their left hands, their right raised before their chests, palm in, in slightly different positions. The scrolls are drawn as if they were seen from both above and below, with the ends drawn in light red.

James has a long, narrow face and short, straight, brown hair with two locks combed

over his forehead (fig. 62).¹⁹⁹ He has a thin, dark brown moustache, a short, sparse beard coming to an untidy point, and his skin tones are a very dark tan. He wears a purple-brown chiton with dark brown fold-lines, but the broad, loose strokes of bright red highlighting give the effect of a deep red garment. Over his right shoulder is a double black clavus. His himation (visible on the right shoulder) is light green with black folds and both white wash and white highlights. It is pulled over the left arm, leaving the right exposed except for a fold over the shoulder.

Philip also has brown hair and was undoubtedly beardless, but all except the top of his head is lost. His himation is of the same deep purple-brown with red highlighting as James' tunic, and it is worn wrapped around his waist and over his left shoulder, leaving his right arm free. The tunic was probably a light green but is now badly eroded. His right hand is held before his chest, the long, elegant fingers drawn in red.

Thomas, whose name is inscribed vertically ο[α|[γι|ος]]||Θο[μ|ος], occupies the entire west soffit (fig. 63). Damaged as much as the others, his face and most of the body below the chest are lost, and the remaining fresco is in poor condition. It is preserved on two fragments to a maximum height of 1.535 m. and its full width of 0.91 m. He had short, full, wavy, brown hair with two rows of locks combed forward low over his forehead. He is dressed like Philip in a deep purple-brown himation²⁰⁰ and a light green tunic²⁰¹ modeled with patterns of white and having a double black clavus over the right shoulder. He also holds a scroll vertically in his left hand, and his right is held out at his side, the hand raised in a blessing gesture, the thumb and fourth finger closed.

The last figures belonging to this decoration are those on the west wall, south of the door (fig. 64). *St. Barbara* is preserved only from the waist up, and her name is inscribed to the left and right of her halo: η[στι|α]||[Βαρ]βαρα[ρα]. The outside of her left arm is

¹⁹⁹ The outline and pupil of his left eye have been restored.

²⁰⁰ See Appendix I, p. 331 and Chart C.2.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 331 and Chart C.4.

lost and the figure is badly eroded with the paint of her face and hands flaked away to the underdrawing. She was a nearly life-size figure, standing frontally, holding a slender white cross of martyrdom in her right hand, her left raised before her chest in an orant gesture. She wears an elaborate jeweled crown and is dressed in royal vestments. Her deep red mantle is pulled evenly over her shoulders, fastened in front, and hangs down to below the waist where it is swept up over both arms to fall down in back. It is richly embroidered with a diaper pattern outlined in yellow-ochre with a white fleur-de-lis design filling each diamond. The white was applied so thickly that it has, in most areas, flaked off, leaving only a ghost or imprint on the red ground. The mantle was edged with a narrow, ochre border enriched at intervals with small, square jewels from which the color has been lost.

Her crown is set on a narrow rim composed of four plaques set with six or eight pearls alternating with squares set with red and green stones. The upper part is composed of three large sigma-shaped plaques outlined with pearls and enclosing a single red or green stone; between the jeweled panels are vertical rectangles, set with pearls. A large, round gem, either red or green, in a budded setting, ornaments the four corners of the crown and the top.

She has slightly wavy, dark brown hair, combed down over the ears and pulled back to the nape of the neck, exposing white earrings made of intersecting circles. Of her face, only faint traces of underdrawing survive around her eyes and brows. The background against which she stands was originally blue but has now turned a vivid green which has blackened in certain areas. It is likely that there was another figure standing beside Barbara (possibly Marina or Anna), which would explain her rather cramped position, squeezed into the corner, and the fact that the roundel above is centered not above her but, rather, above the whole space left of the door.

Only the lower left quarter of the roundel is preserved, with the half figure of a *monastic saint*. His name is lost, but the letters [ð ḥ] | γι | ος are preserved on the left.

The roundel has a deep earth red ground and a wide, ochre border, which is outlined on its circumference with an outer white and inner black line, while on the inside is another, somewhat thicker black line. The figure is preserved only up to the lower part of his pointed, gray beard and includes a small segment of his halo. He wears a light olive brown mantle with a white line at the neck and a dotted crosslet on his right shoulder. In his left hand he holds a white martyr's cross identical to that described above, and his right hand is raised before his chest, palm out.

Two fragments of ornament, both of the same design, belong to this period: one is on the face of the arch of the southwest recess adjacent to the panel with St. Barbara; the second (fig. 65), rather better preserved, is on the north face of the pier separating the southeast recess from the diaconicon and is partly hidden behind the iconostasis. The pattern consists of a stepped cross, outlined in white and painted alternately red or green, enclosed within a foliated roundel connected to the next roundel by sinuous leafy tendrils. Both the tendrils and the roundels are painted black against an ochre ground.

Style and Date

The figures of this third period exhibit a pronounced sense of mass and volume, achieved principally by the heavy drapery, which is modeled less by color effects than by thick contour and fold-lines drawn in long, thick brushstrokes, mainly in black, which succeed in articulating the body and defining its mass (fig. 55). The brownish color of the ochre,²⁰² used both on the haloes and for flesh tones, is a distinctive characteristic, and the faces, which are drawn in both black and brown, are vigorously modeled to emphasize their volume. The flesh tones are smoothly built up, but emphatic shading is used, especially in the sockets of the eyes, and the creamy highlights are rather thickly applied in short, rapid strokes, down the ridge of the nose, along the frown line running from nose to mouth, and along the brow (figs. 57, 60). Both the pupil and the iris of the eye are defined, with a distinctive comma-

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 331 and Chart C.1.

shaped stroke of white around the iris. The palette tends to be a dark one, with deep red-brown, purple-brown, dark olive green, and dark ochre predominating, while even the brighter colors, such as light green and bright red, have the contour, fold-lines, and even the shading drawn in black.

Because of the mutilated state of the frescoes, a precise dating is not possible. Nevertheless, a date in the first half of the fourteenth century is a reasonable proposal. Comparisons with the few fourteenth-century paintings preserved at St. Demetrianos at Dhali (dated 1317),²⁰³ and the narthex paintings at Asinou (dated 1333/34),²⁰⁴ reveal a similar approach in their predilection for large-scale figures wearing heavily draped garments, and in such details as the use of brownish ochre flesh tones, the crisp drawing of hair and beard, the smooth but bold modeling of the faces with emphatic volumes, and creamy highlights applied with thick, rapid strokes. Comparison of the head of the older prophet at Monagri (fig. 60) with that of the Prophet Isaiah at Asinou²⁰⁵ illustrates many of these common features. The slender cross held by St. Barbara and the two martyr saints, which has arms terminating in a small disc and seriph, and short diagonals at its center, is identical to those found at Dhali and Asinou,²⁰⁶ as is the decoration of the monk's scapular, which has tiny white crosses between double white lines.²⁰⁷ The design of the stepped cross in a foliated rinceau is not an uncommon one; it is found among the fourteenth-century paintings at Asinou as well as at Pelendri and St. Nicholas tis Stegis, parts of which are generally ascribed to the fourteenth century.

²⁰³ Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. xxxii, 1; few of the Dhali frescoes have been published.

²⁰⁴ Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, fig. 23 (portrait of a deceased monk), and fig. 26 (Prophet Isaiah); *Archaeologia*, 83 (1933), pls. xciii, 2; xciv, 1–7; xcvi, 1 and 3.

²⁰⁵ Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, fig. 26.

²⁰⁶ *Archaeologia*, 83 (1933), pl. xcvi, 1 (St. George) and 3 (St. Eirene); C. Mango, "Summary of Work Carried out by the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Center in Cyprus, 1959–1969," *Report of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities* (1969), fig. 3.

²⁰⁷ Compare especially that of St. Sozomenos at Asinou (unpublished).

PERIOD IV

The sixteenth-century paintings were executed following minor structural repairs to the building. These included the strengthening of the barrel vault with the two supporting ribs, the blocking of the window in the southeast recess, and the pointing up of some of the masonry joints. The blocking up of the apse window is associated with the redecoration of this period because a sixteenth-century painting covers the blocked area of the window. Since the coin hoard was found in the fill behind this fresco, it had been assumed that it was deposited at the time the window was blocked. However, as pointed out by Seltman in his description of the hoard (*infra* p. 347), the absence of any coins of the sixteenth century in the hoard makes this a less than certain assumption; on the other hand, there is no evidence of any prior alterations to the window.

The frescoes are securely dated by a painted inscription discovered in the course of the cleaning, on the southeast corner of the southeast recess (fig. 66), the date being given by the letters Χ(ριστοῦ)ū || αφξδ, i.e., A.D. 1564. Most of the sanctuary of the church was repainted at this time, as were the whole of the southeast recess and the lower walls of the naos. The paintings, which are not described here, include the following: In the sanctuary, the Virgin Orans Blachernitissa flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the conch of the apse; the Communion of the Apostles and the Procession of Bishops on the lower apse wall; and Bishops Hypatios and Arcadios on a panel which was removed from the south wall of the bema in order that the diaconicon could be reopened; this fresco has been rehung on the south wall of the diaconicon. In the naos, except for a single scene, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, only single standing figures are preserved: John the Baptist, the Archangel Michael, St. Peter, and St. Nicholas of Myra; the Anargyroi Cosmas, Damian, Hermolaos, Sampson, and Panteleimon; the monastic saints Theodosios the Coenobiarch, Sabas, and Anthony; and finally St. George, St. Mamas, and two unidentified saints.

The Icons

A number of older icons are kept in the church, but all are in poor condition, and none—except for a sixteenth-century icon in the iconostasis—is on display. Of these, only one is of sufficient importance and well enough preserved to be included here. It shows the half-length figure of a female martyr, painted against a gold ground (fig. 67). The figure is placed in the depressed central area of a single wood panel, measuring 82.5 by 57 cm. The panel is broken in two and is severely damaged on both sides of the break. The saint wears a deep red-brown mantle shaded with thick, black lines and outlined along its edge by a double ochre line painted in a shaky hand. She holds in her right hand a white cross, its arms terminating in a disk but no seriphs (only one arm is preserved); her left hand is raised palm out. The flesh tones are dark ochre with a rounded area on her cheeks in red.²⁰⁸ The pupil and iris are defined within the eye which is precisely drawn in black and dark brown, with a dark red line defining the upper lid. Her raised halo is molded in

²⁰⁸ The red patch does not show up on the photograph.

gesso and embossed with an ornamental rinceau.

The date of the icon is uncertain, though a date in the fourteenth century is suggested by a number of details such as the dark ochre flesh tones, the drawing of the border of the mantle, which recalls the similar untidy brush-work on the narthex paintings at Asinou,²⁰⁹ and the deep color of the red-brown mantle with its folds painted in broad, black brush strokes, which is similar to that of the apostles in the southwest recess at Monagri. On the other hand, the rather hard linear modeling of the face with the rounded patch of red on the cheek, and the precise and detailed treatment of the eyes suggest analogies to other thirteenth-century work, for instance, the icon of the Virgin and Child in the archiepiscopal palace in Kyrenia, which is dated by Papageorghiou to the thirteenth century.²¹⁰

Dumbarton Oaks

²⁰⁹ Compare especially the double-line borders on the mantles of SS. Eudocia, Marina, and Irene in the narthex (Mango, *loc. cit.* [note 206 *supra*]).

²¹⁰ A. Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Geneva, 1969), figs. p. 20, 21.

APPENDIX I

A TECHNICAL STUDY OF PAINT SAMPLES FROM THE FRESCOES

The Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, received for technical examination forty-six samples of painted wall plaster taken from the frescoes of the Panagia Amasgou in Monagri. Of these, only those from the paintings of the twelfth to fourteenth century are discussed here although all have been analyzed. The following methods were employed to determine the structure and materials of the painted fragments and to record the findings. First, code letters were assigned to the different centuries to simplify the records (i.e., A = 12th century; B = 13th; C = 14th; D = 16th). A portion of each sample was permanently mounted in a clear epoxy medium, then ground and polished according to metallographic procedure.¹ These sections were then studied and photographed on a metallographic microscope by polarized reflected illumination at $\times 40$, $\times 100$, $\times 400$ magnification.² Summaries of the techniques and materials used in each century are presented below. Descriptions of each section are also presented in tables following this discussion, and supplemented with data gained from X-ray diffraction studies and microchemical tests performed on the remaining sample.³ Where possible, a portion of each sample was

¹ Mounting medium: Ren 2-part amber epoxide (RP-5010A: Ren Plastics, Inc.) under vacuum mechanical grinding with Beuler 240, 400, 600 grit Carbimet paper disks with water. Polishing: S. S. White # 5 Alumina abrasive ($\pm 10 \mu$) with water.

² Olympus PMD Metallograph (inverted type); Film: 35 mm. GAF 500 Color Slide Film, daylight type, 500 ASA, processed by manufacturer; see S. Giger, "Reducing Scattered Light in the Photomicrophy of Opaque Cross Sections," *Studies in Conservation*, 7 (1962), 43ff.

³ X-ray diffraction: Debye-Schere camera mounted on Philips-Norelco Diffractometer; Film: Kodak Medical No-Screen; Measurements: visual.

subjected to a series of solvents to determine solubility.

Twelfth Century (A.1-6 series)

Both true and secco fresco techniques are found. In all cases the whites are limes, and while the main component of the plaster is calcite, gypsum also occurs.

Grays composed of charcoal, varying amounts of lime white and small haematite impurities, all evenly applied to the wet plaster, occur in four samples: as undercoat for the "green" ground of the stylite saint (A.1) and for the "blue" background of Deacon Athanasios (A.4); and as the sole component of the "blue-blacks" of the background of St. Spyridon (A.3, A.6a).

The "green" of the ground of the stylite saint (A.1) is a thin layer of terre-verte applied secco over the gray. Terre-verte also seems to occur in surface grooves, presumably design incisions, found in the "earth reds" of the border of St. Spyridon (A.2, A.6).

The "dark reds" in the border of St. Spyridon (A.2, A.6) are coarsely-ground haematite with some charcoal and are applied in relatively thin layers to the wet plaster with lime; brushstrokes are apparent. In A.6, there is evidence of an ochre wash in the wet plaster and a thin charcoal toning wash over the red layer. The "orange-red" of the censer of Deacon Athanasios (A.5), while exhibiting the components and technique of the above reds in its undercoat, derives its bright color from the thin, secco, red lead (minium) surface layer.⁴ Vermilion occurs in this secco layer as an admixture.⁵ Related systems of a light red on a darker red layer appear in the later centuries also (see B.8, B.16; C.5).

⁴ A.5: AST, 8-19 Pb_3O_4 .

⁵ Moderate reaction to sodium azide-iodine solution; A.5: ASTM 6-0256 HgS (faint).

The "blues" in the two samples from St. Spyridon (A.3, A.6a) are charcoal and lime mixtures (i.e., gray), while in the ground of Deacon Athanasios A.4, this layer is covered by an extremely thin, secco blue, surface layer, probably azurite. While it is possible that the blue pigment of the Spyridon background has powdered off (absolutely no trace of blue pigment remains on the samples), bright blues composed solely of lime white and charcoal have been noted by researchers elsewhere, and this may be another such blue.⁶

Thirteenth Century (B.1-18 series)

Both true and secco fresco techniques are found. The plaster is a fine yellowish white often contaminated with stray, fine aggregate or a single pigment particle. In all cases the whites are lime, and while calcite is the main component of the plaster, gypsum is also found.⁷

The grays, composed of charcoal and varying amounts of lime media and painted on wet plaster, occur independently in the "dark gray" of the Jordan River in the Baptism (B.1), as undercoating to "light pink" and "dark pink" of the right hillside and riverbank in the Baptism (B.2, B.3), the "yellow" of John the Baptist's halo (B.5), the "green" of the background of the Koimesis (B.7), and as overpaint in the "flesh" of Christ's foot in the Baptism (B.6). This gray is employed several times in the complex undercoat system of the "blue" background of the evangelist in the southwest corner (B.15). There, it is alternated with coats of pure lime and an unusual translucent (presumably organic) layer.

Several systems for executing green are employed: the application of a mixed-pigment layer alone, the addition of a terre-verte or blue (unidentified) layer to this layer, and the application of terre-verte to a gray layer. In three samples, mixtures of ochre, charcoal, and lime are applied to wet plaster: the "green (or black?)" of the ground

⁶ R. J. Gettens and G. L. Stout, "A Monument of Byzantine Wall Painting—the Method of Conservation," *Studies in Conservation*, 3 (1958), 116.

⁷ B.8, B.10, B.15: ASTM 5-0586 CaCO₃; B.10, B.15: ASTM 6-0046 CaSO₄·H₂O.

in the Transfiguration (B.4), the "dark olive green" in the mantle of Kosmas (B.12), and the "light olive green" in Simeon's mantle in the Presentation of Christ (B.14). Blue pigment crystals (unidentified) adhere to the surface of the Transfiguration ground (B.4; observed on gross sample surface, not in mounted cross section), possibly to enhance the green color of the area. Small quantities of blue crystals also appear trapped within the paint layers of B.12 and B.14, perhaps also to intensify the green color. The "green" in the background of the Koimesis (B.7) results from a rather thick application of terre-verte to a damp, even, thin gray layer.

While the yellow-ochre and lime of the "yellow" of the Baptist's halo (B.5) is a secco application over a dried *buon* gray underpaint, the "flesh" color of Christ's foot (B.6) is ochre and lime painted directly on the wet plaster, followed when dry by a white secco wash with extremely fine blue pigment particles. Ochre also occurs as the thin surface wash in the "green" of the Koimesis background (B.7).

Several methods for painting reds appear. The "red" of the footstool in the Koimesis (B.8) and the "scarlet" altarcloth in the Presentation of Christ (B.16) are identical both in their *buon* underpaint of coarsely-ground haematite,⁸ charcoal and lime, and their thin, even, brittle secco vermilion⁹ surface layers. While differing in materials, the method is close to that of the twelfth-century "orange-red" (A.5). The "scarlet" of the adult figure on the right in the Entry to Jerusalem (B.11) is a very thin, secco vermilion¹⁰ layer laid over a lime white underpaint. Over this dry, red layer is an extremely thin layer of sparse haematite particles which in turn has received a thin lime wash. The "earth red" shading of Simeon's mantle (B.17) is basically a thin, even, secco layer of red lead¹¹ with vermilion¹² admixed. A dense pile of haematite with some charcoal divides this red area

⁸ B.8: ASTM 13-534 Fe₂O₃.

⁹ B.8: ASTM 6-0256 HgS; both B.11 and B.20 react vigorously to sodium azide solution.

¹⁰ Visible in section; vigorous reaction to sodium azide.

¹¹ Visual estimate from section.

¹² Weak response to sodium azide solution.

from a lime-white area and may be a fold-line.

Purples are of two types: in the Koimesis, the "purple" of the Virgin's mantle (B.9) and the "purple-brown" of a bishop's (B.10), are identical in their dense, finely-divided haematite¹³ layers of *buon* fresco. While a fine secco layer of charcoal and ochre covers this red in the bishop's mantle, a thin, irregular lime layer has been applied to the wet red of the Virgin's mantle. However, the "mauve" of the architecture of the northeast recess lunette (B.13) is coarsely-ground haematite in much lime and washed lightly with lime. In all three samples a trace of vermillion was found.¹⁴

The two pinks in the Baptism consist of a mixture of a small amount of vermillion¹⁵ evenly dispersed in large portions of lime. In the "light pink" of the hillside (B.2) it is applied over a damp *buon* gray, while in the "dark pink" of the river's edge (B.3) it is applied directly to the wet plaster and subsequently received a thick secco lime layer mixed with what appears to be the lime and terre-verte mixture found in the grooves of B.5. The "grayish pink" in the right-hand apostle's mantle in the Koimesis (B.18) is essentially like the undercoat of the footstool in the Koimesis: a mixture of ochre, haematite, and charcoal, here liberally whitened with lime.

The "blue" of the background of the evangelist in the southwest corner (B.15) is a thin, even, secco azurite¹⁶ layer applied over the gray undercoat system mentioned above. In one section of the sample, beneath the secco blue, a depression was made in the original plaster which was filled with alternating layers of *buon* gray and lime, sandwiching a translucent (probably organic) layer. This complicated technique was probably used to achieve a very special gray-blue related to the azurite, but the limited sample size makes generalization difficult. A thin, translucent accretion with fine black particles overlays the entire sample, a

phenomenon best explained by long exposure to candle smoke.

Fourteenth Century (C.1-C.5 series)

The plaster is fine and a very clean white in contrast to the yellowish sort encountered in samples from the earlier periods. While calcite is its main constituent, gypsum is also present.

The gray, which serves as undercoat to the "blue" of the background (C.3) and the "green" of Thomas' tunic (C.4), is a thick dense charcoal and lime true fresco layer. Red haematite impurities are present.

The "ochre" of Thomas' halo (C.1) is a thick *buon* layer of iron ochre plus much lime and some haematite impurities, and corresponds closely to that of B.5 and B.6, although it lacks the gray undercoat (and appears darker in color).

While Thomas' tunic (C.4) is labelled "green," there is no indication of a green coloring agent. Instead, a thin lime wash overlaying the dense gray underpaint has received a coating of a translucent, perhaps organic, material. The greenish appearance may be due to this accretion containing no pigment particles. In any case, the translucent layer is very hard, and, in the mounting resin under vacuum, it popped away from the gray fresco layer with some lime white adhering to it.

The "purple-brown" of Thomas' mantle (C.2) and the undercoat of the "red" of Zosimas' omophorion (C.5) are identical; i.e., dense haematite and vermillion mixtures¹⁷ with ochre and charcoal all applied in true fresco technique. The bright "red" of Zosimas' omophorion results from a thin layer of vermillion applied to this red undercoat; it is closely related to the thirteenth-century reds, B.8 and B.16, and is reminiscent of the technique of A.5.

The "blue" of the southwest recess lunette (C.3) is an azurite¹⁸ and lime layer applied to a wet, dense, charcoal gray, true fresco layer. Although related to the gray-azurite systems of A.4 and B.15, the crystals are coarser and the blue here was applied to a wet, gray surface.

¹³ B. 10: ASTM 13-543 Fe₂O₃.
¹⁴ Weak response to sodium azide solution; B.10: ASTM 6-0256 HgS (faint lines).

¹⁵ Vigorous response to sodium azide solution.

¹⁶ B. 15: ASTM 11-1136, 11-682.

¹⁷ C.2: ASTM 6-0256, ASTM 3-534; C.2, C.5: vigorous reaction to sodium azide solution.

¹⁸ C.3: ASTM 11-136; 11-682.

Solubility of Painted Plaster Samples

To determine the solubility of the painted plaster samples, a portion of each was subjected to a series of solvents and solutions. Work was done on glass slides viewed at $\times 100$ magnification on a stage microscope. Solvents and solutions used were as follows: hydrochloric acid (dil. 1:5), hot water, acetone, toluene, ethanol, aqueous sodium hydroxide (5%), alcoholic sodium hydroxide (5%), concentrated ammonia, nitric acid (dil. 1:7), and morpholine.¹⁹

In nearly all cases the dilute hydrochloric acid rapidly dissolved away calcium carbonate plaster and, upon drying, nearly all these solutions yielded the characteristic wheat-sheaf calcium sulphate dihydrate-crystals indicating presence of gypsum.²⁰ While complete sample disintegration occurred in two of the early samples (A.4, A.5 [and eight of the sixteenth-century samples]) indicating total dissolution of lime plaster, in most cases the paint layer remained intact, often retaining undissolved plaster. The subsequent solvent treatments had surprisingly little effect on most of the sample portions left undissolved by the hydrochloric acid. Repeated washings with hot water dissolved out some organic matter, depositing a "ring" as water was evaporated. This is presumably animal glue, and was found in five samples (B.10, B.15, B.16, C.4, and D.9 [= sixteenth century]). Acetone perceptibly swelled three (C.4 and D.9, D.14), indicating perhaps synthetic resin used in treatment of the frescoes. While aqueous sodium hydroxide had no apparent effect, the alcoholic sodium hydroxide seemed to swell some samples with slight effervescence (B.1, B.2, B.3, B.6, B.13, B.16, B.17, D.15), which may suggest presence of drying oils. All other solvents had no visible effect. Often, readdition of dilute hydrochloric acid to the solvent-treated samples resulted in some effervescence.²¹

¹⁹ See J. Plesters, "Cross-sections and Chemical Analysis of Paint Samples," *Studies in Conservation*, 2 (1956), 129f.

²⁰ X-ray diffraction data obtained from A.5, B.10, B.15, C.2, C.3 also indicated gypsum.

²¹ Presumably some calcium carbonate was previously protected by organic matter during

To learn what remained in a particularly insoluble white-charcoal sample (B.1) after these solvent treatments, an X-ray diffraction pattern was obtained which indicated calcium carbonate, calcium sulphate (anhydrite), calcium hydroxide, and quartz,²² an agglomerate which should have reacted with the acid unless some organic substance was masking the reaction.

That large amounts of the painted portion and some plaster portions of most samples are not readily soluble can therefore better be attributed to the presence of organic material than to mineral inclusions or substitutions. While no media identifications can be made from this simple study, if indeed any original media remains detectable,²³ certain materials seem to have been introduced to the paint surfaces, notably animal glue, oils, synthetic resins,²⁴ and tempera, which is notoriously low in solubility.

Summary

Study of these samples demonstrates a fairly consistent technique and choice of materials over the span of five centuries. Generally, the paint appears to have been applied with lime media on a fine, damp-to-wet plaster surface, and, except in the sixteenth century, there is no evidence of "giornata" or painted plaster covering sinopie-type drawings on a primary plaster as described by Cennini.²⁵ The Cypriot method resembles that of the fourteenth-century fresco cycle in the Kariye Camii in Istanbul, where, according to Gettens and Stout, "the

the first hydrochloric acid treatment and the solvent action on the organic material allowed acid attack with a second application of hydrochloric acid.

²² Respectively, ASTM 5-0586, 6-0226, 4-0733, 5-1494.

²³ For problems encountered in identifying media in related Byzantine wallpaintings, see J. Plesters, "Sancta Sophia, Trebizond ... a Note on the Materials and Technique," *Studies in Conservation*, 8 (1963), 133, and Gettens and Stout, "A Monument of Byzantine Wall Painting," 114, 118.

²⁴ Poly (vinyl acetate) is reported to have been used in the restoration and conservation of the cycles.

²⁵ D. V. Thompson, *The Craftsman's Handbook* (trans. from C. Cennini, *Il libro dell'Arte*) (New Haven, 1933), chap. LXVII.

plaster was only partly set, stiff but still damp."²⁶ Paint layers, whether thick or thin, are relatively even. There is evidence of design lines pressed into the plaster²⁷ and some of the gray or ochre underpaints may correspond to preliminary drawings.²⁸ In many pigment-lime paint layers resting directly on and slightly penetrating the plaster there is moderate interlocking of paint and plaster, a condition which may well result from the method described in Theophilus, where the dry wall is wetted first and sometimes given an additional lime priming.²⁹ In no case is there an extremely prominent brushstroke or dramatically uneven penetration of paint into plaster, an occurrence which would have suggested application to wet mobile plaster.

The plaster in samples tested proved to be chiefly calcium carbonate formed by hydration and subsequent carbonation of caustic lime putty with traces of gypsum (calcium sulphate dihydrate), either as deterioration product or as contaminant in the original batch. No sand or marble dust was found in the fine plaster layer.

While organic binders may have been used originally, the not-readily-soluble organic matter present in most of the samples is probably due to more recent applications.

The same pigments were noted in each century, but their mixtures and sequence of application vary somewhat. As might be expected, the earth colors were most frequently encountered. Yellow-ochre occurs either alone or with charcoal as underpainting, or in mixtures with haematite. The iron-red haematite, occurs alone, with lime and/or charcoal, with vermilion admixed or itself admixed in vermilion, or as contaminant in charcoal-lime layers. Terre-verte, identified as glauconite, is the only

²⁶ Gettens and Stout, *op. cit.*, 118.

²⁷ A.1, A.2, A.6; B.15.

These lightly incised lines were observed in only one instance in the twelfth-century series and not at all in the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century paintings, but they were readily visible in those of the sixteenth (S. Boyd).

²⁸ A.1, A.6; B.2, B.3, B.5, B.7, B.15; C.3, C.4; D.5, D.6, D.7, D.10, D.15.

²⁹ J. G. Hawthorne and C. S. Smith, *On Diverse Arts: The Treatise of Theophilus* (Chicago, 1963), chap. 15, p. 23.

applied green and its tone is apparently varied by its undercoat: i.e., application over an ochre-charcoal lime layer yields olive tones while bright greens result from a lime-charcoal undercoat.

Lime white was the only white pigment found. Similarly, the black pigment was made from charcoal, its slivered shapes unmistakable under magnification.

The only mineral blue identified uncontestedly was azurite, and it was applied *a secco* over gray. Several samples showed a few blue crystals adhering to their surfaces which were too small to be identified conclusively.³⁰ Some samples marked "blue" contained only charcoal and lime white which, though a common method of producing blue in Byzantine painting, may also indicate total loss of the secco blue pigment layer from the sample.

Red lead appears only once, in the twelfth-century paintings, and vermilion occurs as an admixture. Vermilion, an artificial red pigment, appears with surprising frequency, and in samples from all centuries, either as a pure application, lightened with lime, or in other red pigment mixtures, both with haematite and with red lead, as previously noted.

The method of application may be described as a layered technique by which colors are achieved by addition of successive layers composed of one or two pigments often mixed with lime and/or charcoal; in only one instance in these early periods is a three-pigment mixture used (i.e., C.2).

It is instructive to compare these Cypriot Byzantine materials and techniques with those found by Gettens and Stout in the Kariye Camii in Istanbul, and by Plesters in St. Sophia in Trebizond.³¹ In all three, calcium carbonate was the main component of the fine, white plaster which contained no marble dust. While the nature of sampling at Trebizond seems to have precluded generalization regarding plaster mobility at the time of paint application, the Kariye Camii damp or wetted dry-plaster technique

³⁰ Several blue crystals were not birefringent and went transparent on exposure to dilute hydrochloric acid, phenomena associated with ultramarine.

³¹ See note 23 *supra*.

corresponds with the findings for the Panagia Amasgou. In all cycles, earth pigments predominate. Only lime white and charcoal black are common to all three. Application of terre-verte over ochre-charcoal-lime layers for olive green and over charcoal-lime for green, methods found in the Cypriot samples, was often recorded at Trebizond. Although the frequent occurrence of vermillion in the Cypriot samples was rather surprising and none of it was found to be chemically altered, Miss Plesters notes its unaltered occurrence in St. Sophia. Gettens finds ver-

milion and red lead only in restored sections of the Kariye Camii. Red lead, which occurs once in the Cypriot samples, was not reported at Trebizond. Smalt, indigo, and paratacamite, which were found in the Kariye Camii paintings, did not turn up either at St. Sophia or the Panagia Amasgou.

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Explanation of Tables

Data gained from the study of mounted cross-sections and physical chemical tests is presented here in chart form:

Number	Code number of sample.
Sample	Description of color by Dumbarton Oaks and area from which sample was removed.
Layer	P = plaster. i = layer directly on P (plaster). ii = layer directly above layer i.
Estimated Material	Unless otherwise noted, all identifications are visual estimates made from the mounted cross-sections and supplemented by reference to the New York University pigment collection. Materials in parentheses indicate presence in relatively small amounts. ASTM 00-000 indicates the mineral's identification by X-ray diffraction citing the ASTM Powder Diffraction File number.
Azide	This indicates the sample's reaction to sodium azide-iodine solution, a spot test used to determine presence of sulphide. In all cases reaction to this solution is interpreted as showing presence of vermillion (HgS) and not orpiment (As_2S_3) or realgar (As_2S_2), as these sulphides are readily distinguished from vermillion visually (see F. Feigl, <i>Spot Tests in Inorganic Analysis</i> , trans. Ralph Oesper, 5th ed. [Amsterdam, N. Y., 1958], 305).
Description	These descriptions attempt to relate paint layers and plaster as they appear in cross-section. From this information, technique may be inferred (cf. Estimated Technique, <i>infra</i>).
Thickness	Height of the layers expressed in microns (1 = .001 mm.).
Estimated Technique	These descriptions of methods used to apply paint are based on visual estimation (cf. Descriptions, <i>supra</i>). Generalization is severely limited, since no tests were performed for presence of organic materials which would indicate use of organic media.

TABLES

TWELFTH CENTURY

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
A.1	Green: ground of stylite saint	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum charcoal lime (haematite impur.)	even, thick layer, penetrates P, no brushstroke	60 μ	lime med. on damp plaster	cf. A.3.i, A.4.i, A.6.i (blue)
		i ii	terre-verte (blue-green particles) (lime) (orange impur.)	uneven, thin layer, penetrates i slightly, brushstroke apparent	12 16	secco	
A.2	Earth red: border of St. Spyridon	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum haematite (cf. B.10) charcoal	uneven layer, uneven penetration of P, brushstroke apparent, does not continue under ii as an indentation into P	20-40 4 in places 360 deep 900 wide	lime med. on wet plaster	cf. A.6.ii, cf. A.6.iv
		i ii	terre-verte (charcoal) (haematite)			organic med., overlaid with lime, probably a design incision	
A.3	Blue-black: ground of St. Spyridon	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum identical to A.1.i (no blue particles observed)		60		cf. A.1.i, A.4.i, A.6.i (blue)
A.4	Blue: ground of Deacon Athanasios	P	calcium carbonate identical to A.1.i		120	increasing lime toward surface	cf. A.1.i, A.3.i, A.6.i (blue)
		i ii	azurite (?)	thin, sparse layer on i, possibility of organic med.	8		

TWELFTH CENTURY (cont.)

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
A.5	Orange-red: censer of Deacon Athanasios	P	calcium carbonate ASTM 5-0586 (gypsum) ASTM 6-0046				sample totally soluble in dil. hydrochloric acid
		i	haematite ASTM 13-534 (charcoal)	uneven, thick layer, penetrates P	60-160	lime med. on wet plaster	cf. A.2.i A.6.ii
		ii	lead red ASTM 8-19 vermillion ASTM 6-0256 azide: moderate reaction	thin, even layer, does not penetrate i	8	secco, possibility of organic med.	cf. B.8, B.16, where this red is vermilion
A.6	Earth red: border fragment of St. Spyridon	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum ochre	extremely thin layer	00	wash on wet plaster	cf. A.2.i
		i	identical to A.2.i		32		
		ii	charcoal	even, single particle layer, does not penetrate ii	4	lean lime med. on dry ii	cf. A.2.ii
		iii	identical to A.2.ii		360 500		
A.6a	Blue: border fragment of St. Spyridon	—	identical to A.3 by $\times 40$ magnification with binocular microscope; no section made				

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
B.1	Dark gray: Baptism, Jordan River	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum	even, thick layer, penetrates P	320	lime med. to wet plaster	cf. B.2.i
		i	lime white charcoal	not throughout, does not penetrate i	240	secco on i	
B.2	Light pink: Baptism, right hillside	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum	even layer, penetrates P	20-40	lime med. to wet plaster	cf. B.1.i
		i	lime white charcoal	even, thick layer, depressed by iii, vermillion sparsely dispersed, some charcoal kicked up from i	80-120	lime med. on damp layer i	
		ii	lime white vermillion azide: vigorous reaction	even layer, penetrates ii,	20	lime med. on wet layer ii	
B.3	Dark pink: Baptism, right river bank	P	calcium carbonate		40-100	lime med. on damp P	
		i	identical to B.2.ii, with evidence of light charcoal underdrawing	thick, uneven layer, not throughout, slight penetration of i	00-20	lime med. on damp i	
		ii	charcoal lime	thick, even layer, not through- out, no penetration	120-160	lime med. on dry ii	cf. "grooves" of A.2, A.6
		iii	lime white dirty brownish ad- mixture (terre-verte?)				

THIRTEENTH CENTURY (*cont.*)

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
B. 4	Green (or black?): ground of Transfiguration	P i	calcium carbonate, gypsum lime (charcoal) (ochre) (blue crystals: ultramarine?, nonbirefr., clear in HCl)	thin, uneven layer, penetration of P, scant pigment	20	lime med. on wet plaster	should seem green; cf. B. 12.i, B. 14.i; not like B.7
B. 5	Yellow: Baptism, halo of John Baptist	P i ii iii	calcium carbonate, gypsum charcoal ochre lime white	thin, even layer, brushstroke thick, even layer, bottom conforms to irregular surface of i scant	40 120-140 —	lime med. on wet plaster secco on dry i, possibility of organic med. some lime applied to wet ii	
B. 6	Flesh color: foot of Christ in Baptism	P i ii iii	calcium carbonate, gypsum charcoal lime ochre lime lime white (blue crystals) (charcoal)	very thin layer even, thick layer, penetrates i little penetration, thin, irregular layer	— — 160 20-40	lime med. on wet plaster lime med. to damp i lime med. on slightly damp ii	

THIRTEENTH CENTURY (*cont.*)

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
B.7	Green: ground of Koimesis	P	calcium carbonate				
		i	charcoal lime white (haematite impur.)	thick, uneven layer, uneven penetration, dense charcoal	60-160	lime med. on wet plaster	
		ii	lime white	penetrates i slightly	—	applied to slightly damp ii	samples appear blue to unaided eye and by $\times 40$ magnif.
B.8	Red: Koimesis, foot-stool	P	calcium carbonate, ASTM 5-0586 gypsum				
		i	haematite charcoal ochre lime	uneven, thick layer, uneven penetration, brushstroke	40-160	lime med. to wet plaster, possibility of organic med.	cf. B.16.i (ident.)
B.9	Purple: Koimesis, Virgin's mantle	P	vermillion ASTM 6-0256 azide: vigorous reaction	thin, even layer, no penetration, brittle	12	secco with some organic medium (insol. in dil. HCl)	cf. B.16.ii; also A.5, where this layer is red lead
		i	calcium carbonate				
		ii	haematite vermillion (charcoal) lime white (terre-verte?)	uneven layer, uneven penetration, brushstroke	20-40	scant lime med. on wet plaster	cf. B.10.i, B.13.i
		ii	thin, irregular layer, slightly penetrates i		12	applied to wet i	

THIRTEENTH CENTURY (*cont.*)

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
B.10	Purple-brown: Koimesis, bishop's mantle	P	calcium carbonate ASTM 5-0586 (gypsum) ASTM 6-0046	has two large fissures (200 and 400 deep) into which paint has flowed; cracks due to shrinkage in drying			
		i	haematite ASTM 13-534 (vermillion) ASTM 6-0256 (faint) azide: moderate reaction	uneven layer, irregular penetra- tion, brushstroke prominent	20-80	scant lime med. on wet plaster	cf. B.9.i (ident.)
		ii	ochre charcoal	sparse, thin layer	20	secco, possibility of organic med.	
B.11	Scarlet: Entry to Jerusalem, adult figure on R.	P	calcium carbonate				
		i	lime white	not throughout	40	lime applied to wet plaster	
B.12	Dark olive green: mantle of Kosmas	P	vermillion azide: vigorous reaction (haematite)	very thin, even layer, no pene- tration	4-8	secco to i	
		i	calcium carbonate, gypsum				
B.13	Mauve: architecture, northeast recess lunette	P	lime white ochre charcoal (haematite)	uneven, thick layer, uneven penetration, brushstroke, successively more lime toward surface	60-100	lime med. to wet plaster	cf. B.4.i
		i	calcium carbonate, gypsum				
B.13	Mauve: architecture, northeast recess lunette	i	lime white haematite (coarsely ground) (vermillion) azide: vigorous reaction	thick, even layer, penetrates P	60-80	lime med. on wet plaster	like B.9.i, B.10.i, but more lime here
		ii	lime white	uneven, thin layer, penetrates i	4-20	applied to wet i	

THIRTEENTH CENTURY (*cont.*)

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
B.14	Light olive green: Presentation of Christ: Simeon's mantle	P i	calcium carbonate lime white ochre (charcoal)	thick, uneven layer, penetrates P evenly, brushstroke	40-80	lime med. on wet plaster	cf. B.12, but less ochre and charcoal here
		ii	lime white (blue crystals; unidentified)	uneven, thin layer	20?	applied while i was very wet	
B.15	Blue: background above SW Evangelist	P	calcium carbonate ASTM 5-0586 (gypsum) ASTM 6-0046 charcoal lime	thick layer, penetrates P	40-60	lime med. on wet plaster	
		i	lime	no penetration	20-40	on dry i	
		ii	translucent layer	no penetration, only beneath	20	on dry ii	
		iii		vii			
		iv	lime (charcoal)	no penetration, charcoal at bottom of layer	20-40	on dry iii, ii	
		v	charcoal lime	thin, even layer across entire specimen	20	on damp iv	
		vi	azurite (blue dissolves in HCl)	thin, even layer, no penetration	20	on dry v, possible organic med.	
		vii	lime				
		viii	white (probably lime) candle soot, grime	thick, occurs only over iii, i.e., the depression in the plaster thin layer over surface	60-80	secco	highlight (?)
					—		

THIRTEENTH CENTURY (*cont.*).

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
B.16	Scarlet: Presentation of Christ, altar cloth	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum				
		i	identical to B.8.i		280		cf. B.8.i
		ii	identical to B.8.ii		8-40		cf. B.8.ii
B.17	Earth red: Presentation of Christ: shadow line of Simeon's mantle	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum	thin layer, not throughout	20	on dry ii	
		i	red lead (?) vermillion azide: moderate reaction lime white	thin, even layer, no penetration	20-40	on dry P	not like B.11, B.8, B.16, B.9; not like A.2, A.6
		ii	haematite (charcoal)	built up in one area, perhaps shading	H.60 L.280	on dry i	
B.18	Grayish pink: Koimesis, R.-hand Apostle's mantle	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum	thin layer which meets ii, but does not extend over or beyond it	10	on dry i	
		i	lime (ochre) (haematite) (charcoal) (1 trapped aqua crystal)				cf. B.8, B.16, except here there is little pigment
		ii	lime	uneven layer, tendency for lumps	0-40	lime putty to damp i	
					20-60	lime med. to wet plaster	

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
C. 1	Ochre: Thomas' halo	P	calcium carbonate, gypsum	thick, even layer, uneven penetra-tion	60-120	lime med. on wet plaster	like B. 5 and B. 6, here without gray, and more pigment
		i	ochre lime white (haematite impur.)	thin, even layer, some penetra-tion	8	lime med. on wet i	
C. 2	Purple-brown: Thomas' mantle	P	calcium carbonate ASTM 5-0586 (gypsum) ASTM 6-0046				cf. C. 5; also close to A. 5.i
		i	haematite (coarse) ASTM 13-543 lime (ochre) (charcoal) (vermillion) ASTM 6-0256 azide: vigorous reaction	uneven penetration, prominent brushstroke, visible chunks of lime trapped in layer	40-80	lime med. on wet plaster	
C. 3	Blue: lunette, SW recess, background	P	lime white	thin wash, no penetration	4	lime on wet i	
		i	calcium carbonate ASTM 5-0586 (gypsum) ASTM 6-0046				
		ii	charcoal lime (haematite impur.) azurite ASTM 11-136; 11-682 (brown?) lime*	thick, uneven layer, penetrates P	80	lime med. on wet plaster	
				thick, uneven layer, some penetration: charcoal kicked up into bottom of blue layer, brushstroke depresses i	60	lime med. to wet plaster	cf. A. 5, B. 15

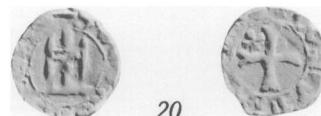
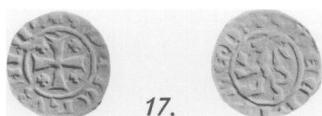
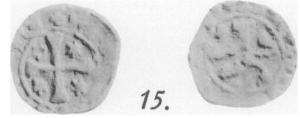
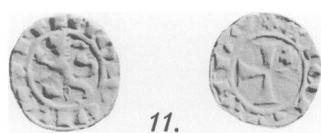
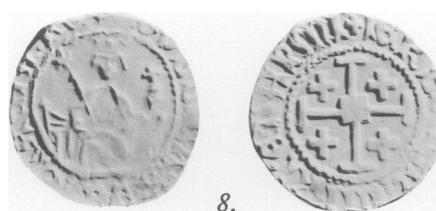
* Possibility that lime is not medium but was added to layer ii while very wet.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY (*cont.*)

NUMBER	SAMPLE	LAYER	ESTIMATED MATERIAL	DESCRIPTION	THICKNESS (μ)	ESTIMATED TECHNIQUE	COMMENTS
C. 4	Green: Thomas' tunic	P i ii iii iv	calcium carbonate gypsum charcoal lime much fine red haematite impur. lime white a dense white (not tested) translucent layer (terreverte?)	uneven, thick layer, penetrates plaster, brushstroke thin, even layer, penetrates i thin, even layer, does not penetrate ii does not penetrate iii, prominent brushstroke, no particles visible	20-40 00-20 4 20	lime med. on wet plaster lime wash on damp i applied to dry ii applied to dry iii, possibility of an organic consolidant (dissolved by acetone)	in mounting the specimen, these two layers popped off; hard and brittle? possibly an effluorescence
C. 5	Red: Zosimas' omophorion	P i ii iii	calcium carbonate, gypsum haematite ochre (charcoal) lime haematite (vermillion) azide: vigorous reaction lime white	uneven, thick layer, penetrates P, brushstroke thin, even layer, penetrates i slightly, brushstroke not throughout, not opaque, penetrates ii	40-100 4-20 00-12	lime med. on wet plaster applied while i wet lime wash	cf. C. 2.i which is lighter cf. A.5; B.8, B.16.



1. Bronze Bowl containing Hoard



Casts of Coins from the Monagri Hoard

APPENDIX II

THE MONAGRI HOARD

In the course of repairs which were undertaken in 1960 by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities to the Church of the Panagia Amasgou at Monagri, workmen found hidden within the fill of the blocked apse window a bronze bowl containing a hoard of 824 Lusignan Cypriot and ten other coins. The bowl was 2 1/8" high with 4 1/8" outside diameter; it was pierced with one hole near the rim and was covered with an irregular fragment of polished green marble which served as a lid (fig. 1). The bowl and the hoard are now in the Archaeological Museum at Nicosia, where with the kind permission of the Director of Antiquities, Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, the writer has been able to study them with a view toward their publication.¹ Of the Lusignan Cypriot coins, nine were of silver, namely one half gros each of Henry II (1285–1306, 1310–24) (fig. 2), Hugh IV (1324–1359) (fig. 3), and Peter I (1359–69) (fig. 4); two gros of John II (1432–58) (figs. 5, 6); and four gros of Louis of Savoy (1459–60) (figs. 8, 9). The remaining coins were billon and copper deniers, including 815 Lusignan Cypriot pieces minted between the reigns of Henry I (1218–53) and Janus (1432–58) (figs. 7, 10–17), as well as five deniers struck by the Genoese during their occupation of Famagusta (1373–1464) (figs. 19–21), three deniers of Rhodes (fig. 18), and two torneselli of Venice. The Cypriot and Genoese deniers include apparently unpublished varieties, of which details are given, with a list of the coins in the hoard, at the end of this note.

The latest coins in the hoard are the four silver gros of Louis of Savoy (1459–60).

¹ The hoard was discovered on August 19, 1960, in the apse wall, at a height of 4' 4" above the ground, and 10" from the wall face. For the short note on its discovery, see V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1960," *BCH*, 85 (1961), 272. The hoard has been registered under Inventory no. 1960/VIII-27/1 in the Cyprus Museum, where 822 coins have been studied and listed.

Louis ascended the throne of Cyprus in 1459 on his marriage to the reigning Queen Charlotte, but lost most of the island in the following year to her illegitimate brother James II (1460–72), retaining only the port of Kyrenia until 1464.² The absence of any coins later than the reign of Louis would strongly suggest that the hoard was deposited in this troubled period, yet there is apparently no evidence that the alterations to the apse window were done at this time. On the contrary, the blocking up of the apse window has been associated with the repairs and considerable redecoration of the church which was carried out in 1564. In any case, the hoard reflects a typical cross-section of the coinage circulating in Cyprus in the fifteenth century. Very few hoards deposited in the fifteenth century have been found in the island.³ In contrast to the more numerous fourteenth-century Cypriot hoards in which silver coins predominate,⁴ the paucity of

² G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, III (Cambridge, 1948), 554–94.

³ Besides the Monagri hoard, only three other fifteenth-century Cypriot coin hoards are known to the writer: A group of 78 deniers published by R. H. M. Dolley, in "A Presumed Hoard of Lusignan Deniers from Cyprus," *NC*, 6th Ser., XIII, no. XLIII (1953), 158–61; An unpublished hoard of deniers, including at least 66 of Janus, found at Arnadhi in 1946; and the Stavrokono Hoard, also unpublished, which was deposited about 1489 and contained about 800 Cypriot and Venetian coins, four Venetian ducats, and two silver spoons. The last hoard, which the writer hopes to publish from notes on it compiled by the late Professor J. R. Stewart, seems to have been discovered in 1947.

⁴ Several large hoards of Cypriot silver coins, most of which seem to have been deposited in the reign of Peter II (1369–82)—perhaps during the Cypriot-Genoese war of 1373–74—have been found in the island. These hoards include the Morphou Hoard of 2,706 coins found in 1904 (incompletely published by T. J. Chamberlayne, *Le Trésor du Morf* [London, 1906]); the Kouklia Hoard of 2,000–3,000

silver compared with billon and copper coins in the Monagri Hoard attests to the impoverishment of Cyprus in the fifteenth century, after the island's defeat in its war with the Genoese Republic in 1373–74, and the subsequent occupation of Famagusta by the Genoese until 1464.

Most of the coins in the hoard are of known types, but some of them deserve special mention. The hoard includes a relatively large number of the anonymous deniers (or "carzie" as they were called in the fifteenth century), bearing as types a cross of Jerusalem and a lion rampant left, which were provisionally attributed by Lambros⁵ and by Schlumberger⁶ to Peter I or Peter II.

coins found in 1937; the Galini Hoard of about 600 coins found in 1945; and the Dherinia Hoard, which contained at least 60 coins, found in 1947 (these last three hoards are unpublished).

⁵ P. Lambros, *Monnaies inédites du royaume de Chypre au moyen âge* (Athens, 1876), 43 (abbreviated *infra* as Lamb.).

⁶ G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878), 204–5 (abbreviated *infra* as

Dolley has noted the stylistic connection of these deniers with one type of Janus;⁷ and the period 1426–27, when the king was held prisoner in Egypt and the island was under a regency, might have provided an occasion for the minting of the anonymous pieces. The hoard also includes four apparently hitherto unpublished varieties of deniers or "carzie" of Janus (with an annulet, the letter "S," or stars in the angles of the cross), and a variety of the denaro minted by the Genoese during their occupation of Famagusta (1373–1464), with a crosslet in the first quarter of the cross.

The coins in the hoard are listed below.

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Schl.). Lambros and Schlumberger provisionally ascribed the anonymous deniers to Peter I or Peter II on the grounds that none of theirs had been discovered. Deniers minted in their name are now known however; see A. J. Seltman, "A Copper Coinage of Peter II of Cyprus," *NCirc*, LXXVI, no. 2 (Feb. 1968), 37, fig. 1.

⁷ See note 3 *supra*.

SILVER

	DENOMINATION	TYPE	WEIGHT	QUANTITY	REF.	FIG.
<i>Cyprus</i>						
Henry II (1285–1306, 1310–24)	half gros (pierced)	King enthroned/ Lion rampant L.	2.14 gm.	1	Lamb. Γ, 24. Schl. VI, 16.	2
Hugh IV (1324–59)	half gros	King enthroned/ Cross	2.18 gm.	1	Lamb. Δ, 41.	3
Peter I (1359–69)	half gros	similar	2.07 gm.	1	Schl. VII, 2.	4
John II (1432–58)	gros (clipped)	similar; crosslet L. of king on <i>obv.</i>	2.91 gm.	1	Lamb. Z, 74.	6
	gros	similar; cauldron L. of king on <i>obv.</i>	3.84 gm.	1	Lamb. Σ, 73.	5
Louis of Savoy (1459–60)	gros	similar; curved throne on <i>obv.</i>	3.76 gm.	1	Lamb. Z, 82. Schl. VII, 20.	8
	gros	similar; square throne on <i>obv.</i>	3.53 gm. 3.76 gm. 4.03 gm.	3	Lamb. Z, 83.	9

BILLON AND COPPER

	DENOMINATION	TYPE	WEIGHT	QUANTITY	REF.	FIG.
<i>Cyprus</i>						
Henry I (?) (1218-53)	denier (very worn)	Cross/Gateway	0.59 gm.	1	Schl. VI, 12.	—
Henry II (1285-1306, 1310-24)	denier*	Cross/Lion rampant L.	0.40- 0.80 gm.	107	Schl. VI, 23.	—
	denier	similar; pellets in angles of cross on <i>obv.</i>	0.45- 0.75 gm.	32	Lamb. Δ, 36.	—
Hugh IV (1324-59)	denier	Cross/Lion rampant L.	0.39- 0.74 gm.	10	Lamb. Δ, 42 var.	9
James I (1382-98)	carzia	Lion rampant L./ Cross	0.55- 0.75 gm.	123	Lamb. Σ, 60, 61.	10
	carzia	similar; crosslet in 2nd quarter of cross on <i>rev.</i>	0.55- 0.75 gm.	97	Lamb. Σ, 62. Schl. VII, 9.	11
Janus (1398-1432)	carzia	Lion rampant L./ Cross	0.50- 0.85 gm.	293	Lamb. Σ, 67-69.	—
	carzia	similar; annulet in 1st quarter of cross on <i>rev.</i>	0.50 gm.	1	unpublished	12
	carzia	Cross; S in 2nd. quarter/Lion rampant L.	0.55 gm. 0.77 gm.	2	unpublished	13
	carzia	Cross; star in 2nd and 3rd quarters/Lion rampant L.	0.56 gm. 0.69 gm. 0.74 gm.	3	unpublished	14
	carzia	Cross; star in each quarter/Lion rampant L.	0.61 gm. 0.63 gm. 0.71 gm.	3	unpublished	15
	carzia	Cross of Jeru- salem/Lion rampant L.	0.55- 0.85 gm.	3	Lamb. Σ, 70. Schl. VII, 13.	16
James I or Janus	carzia	Lion rampant L./ Cross	0.50- 0.80 gm.	50	unpublished	—
Anonymous (? Janus)	carzia	Cross of Jeru- salem/Lion rampant L.	0.60- 0.80 gm.	78	Lamb. H, 95. Schl. VIII, 2.	17
Famagusta (1373-1464)	denaro	Gateway/Cross	0.35 gm. 0.50 gm. 0.53 gm.	3	Lamb. Θ, 99. Schl. VIII, 15.	19
	denaro	similar; crosslet in 1st quarter of cross on <i>rev.</i>	0.52 gm. 0.49 gm.	2	unpublished	20 21
Rhodes (14th cent.)	denier	Castle/Cross; annulets in 1st and 3rd quarters	0.26 gm. 0.46 gm. 0.49 gm.	3	Schl. XII, 2.	18
<i>Venice</i>						
Andrea Contarini (1368-82)	tornesello	Cross/Lion of St. Mark	0.80- 1.00 gm.	2	Schl. XVIII, 7.	—

* Some of these deniers are very worn, and might possibly belong to Hugh IV.